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The Shape of Things

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION ENDING hostilities has adroitly pulled one of the G. O. P.'s favorite planks from under it. During the campaign, Republicans pictured the Administration as clinging desperately to its war-time powers and boasted of their plans for ending this usurpation. So when Mr. Truman voluntarily surrendered such of those powers as were terminable at the official end of hostilities, Republicans were forced to applaud publicly, even though they could barely keep their smiles from becoming grimaces. One consequence of the President's action is that it brings Congress squarely up against certain problems which the majority might well have wished to ignore until a more strategically convenient hour. For instance, during the war, farmers were guaranteed price maintenance of their most important products at 90 per cent of parity for two full years after the end of hostilities. By making this date December 31, 1946, Mr. Truman insured the termination of that guaranty on December 31, 1948. The Republican majority in Congress will now be under pressure to legislate a new farm program before the next Presidential campaign, for if agricultural prices begin to slide as expected in the next twelve months, farmers will be increasingly intent on securing some alternative measure of price support. On the other hand, such support is likely to prove extremely costly unless accompanied by a system of stringent crop restriction. Consequently, the Republicans may find that they must either impose new controls on farming or jeopardize their fiscal program of budget balancing, debt reduction, and tax cuts.

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ANOTHER EMBARRASSING PROBLEM FOR THE G. O. P. is created by the automatic termination on July 1 of the special war-time excises imposed under the Revenue Act of 1943. Among the items affected will be the tax on admissions, reduced from 20 to 10 per cent; the cabaret tax, reduced from 20 to 5 per cent; taxes on jewelry, furs, cosmetics, and luggage, reduced from 20 to 10 per cent; and the distilled-spirits tax, reduced from \$9 a gallon to \$6. Other taxes to be diminished by various amounts include those on telephone and telegraph charges, transportation, and electric-light bulbs. It is estimated that as a result revenue for the next fiscal

year will be reduced by about \$1½ billion, which means that the Republicans have that much less to play with in concocting a tax-reduction program. This will probably prove the final blow to Representative Knutson's proposal for a 20 per cent "across the board" cut in income tax, the implications of which have already given the shivers to some of his more farsighted colleagues. Of course, Congress could pass a bill restoring these excise taxes, but that would not be a very popular move. In fact, sellers of furs, liquor, cosmetics, and so on are already agitating for repeal to be made effective before July 1, fearing that otherwise consumers will hold back their purchasing. Meanwhile, the question is being asked: if some taxes, many of them on luxury items, are to be slashed, why not those on such articles as business machines, electric, gas, and oil appliances, films and photographic apparatus, sporting goods, cigarettes, cigars, automobiles, tires, radios, and refrigerators, which were imposed or increased during the war under other statutes? That is a very pertinent question, for such hidden taxes are definitely regressive, bearing much harder on low incomes than on high. Their reduction should at least be given equal consideration with a reduction in income tax.

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THOSE WHO RELY ON NEWSPAPER HEADLINES as guides to political thought may have concluded that the primary function of the newly formed Americans for Democratic Action will be to combat the Communists. The truth is the contrary. The founders of the A. D. A. believe it necessary to exclude Communists in order to allow the new organization to perform its real function without interference. That function is to give the United States what it has lacked for many years—a broad and militant progressive movement unattached to any old-line party and free of the often constricting embrace of the Communists. Still in the throes of organization, the A. D. A., born of the five-year-old Union for Democratic Action, includes among its objectives an expansion of the New Deal program "to insure decent levels of health, nutrition, shelter, and education"; protection of civil liberties from both "concentrated wealth and overcentralized government"; support of the United Nations and of the American plan for international control of atomic

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energy; and steps "to raise standards of living and support civil and political freedoms everywhere." An ear even slightly attuned to political formulations will perceive marked divergences here from the aims of the Progressive Citizens of America, whose formation we noted in these columns last week. Moreover, while Henry Wallace, addressing the P. C. A., disavowed the use of Russian standards as a guide for American liberals, that organization clearly accepts the tactical principle of the Popular Front. Those liberals who believe this principle to be a delusion will be immensely heartened by the creation of an organization without Communists in which are represented both wings of the labor movement and such leaders as Chester Bowles, Wilson Wyatt, Leon Henderson, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Reinhold Niebuhr, to name only a few of the A. D. A.'s guiding spirits. The creation of these two major organizations presents progressives with a choice that calls for some hard thinking. We propose in the next issue of *The Nation* to deal more fully with the implications of this choice.

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FILMING "THE CAPTAIN FROM CASTILE"

presented one difficulty to Twentieth Century-Fox: the villain of the novel is a priest of the Inquisition, and a cruel and corrupt one to boot. The Legion of Decency, in its usual compelling tones, warned the producers that the novel was not acceptable to the church because of its violation of historical truth: it had not made it clear that the Inquisition "was aimed at the crypto-Jews, who became Catholic converts for the purpose of subverting Catholic thought." (In just this way, Eisenstein's "Ivan the Terrible" has been condemned by the Soviet Union for violating historical truth—that is, it did not present Ivan as a "progressive statesman.") Two scripts had to be torn up, but the third was satisfactory: in it, the villainous priest appears briefly, does not accept bribes, and is not cruel. The Inquisition, too, is "touched on only briefly and fleetingly." How odd that the Legion of Decency should feel that it had to hush up something so congenial to the temper of our age as an Inquisition! If the Legion had as much imagination as it has power, we should before long be admitting Bing Crosby's finest impersonation, that of Torquemada in Warner Brothers' sensational epic of the Inquisition, "The Good Shepherd."

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LAST WEEK, WE URGED THE AVOIDANCE OF over-hasty legislative efforts to deal with the portal-to-portal issue. Since then, two Republican Congressmen have provided prime examples of the kind of thing we feared. Representative Knutson has proposed to levy a 100 per cent "windfall tax" on any money the workers may collect in portal suits; Representative Clare Hoffman of Michigan has introduced a bill amending the Fair

Labor Standards Act of 1938 retroactively so as to wipe out all portal-to-portal claims. In addition, Mr. Hoffman proposes to end the provisions in the act for liquidated damages in the case of violations, so that employers who deliberately ignored minimum standards would be able to go on cheating their workers without fear of punishment. Finally, the Hoffman bill provides a definition of "work week" which excludes "time going to or from work, changing clothing, putting on aprons or overalls, taping or greasing arms, putting on finger cots, preparing equipment for productive work, turning on switches for lighter machinery, opening windows or assembling or sharpening tools, or time spent in preparation for work which is not time actually consumed in productive work." We do not envy the judges who will have to make the fine distinction between preparations for productive work and actual productive work if this bill is passed. But in any case, the definition is a ridiculous one and does not correspond to the facts of industrial life, which shows that once a man enters his employer's plant he is under orders and should therefore be on paid time. Apart from this feature, the bill stands condemned, just as the Knutson proposal does, by its attempt to destroy property rights without due process. Many lawyers believe that the Supreme Court would find it unconstitutional on these grounds. If it did not, all property owners would have cause for alarm, for the precedent created could have much wider application.

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THE ERA OF PRIVATE PROFIT IN BRITISH COAL mines has ended. On New Year's Day the flag of the National Coal Board was hoisted at every pit-head, and the miners went to their jobs as citizens working for their fellow-citizens. Ironically enough, at the very moment of this transformation, Britain was faced by an acute shortage of coal, bringing production in some industrial plants to a halt and forcing the authorities to consider the imposition of a semi-blackout. British critics of the Labor government are trying to link the crisis to public ownership, though nothing is more certain than that it would have arrived sooner, and proved more severe, if the old regime had remained. Since the Nationalization bill became law in the early summer, there has, in fact, been a marked improvement in the miners' morale. Recruits for the industry have been coming forward in greater numbers, absenteeism is sharply down, and production is rising steadily. In January, 1946, output averaged 3,250,000 tons per week; in the third week of December it was 4,000,000 tons, and although there was a much-advertised Christmas slump, the record of the holiday week was far better than in 1945. The current shortage is the result of increased demand as much as of decreased supply. Under conditions of full employment, British industrial-fuel requirements are higher than before the war, while improvements in the standard of

living have raised consumption of electric power 75 per cent above the pre-war level. Full correction of this unbalanced supply-demand situation can be achieved only when the National Coal Board completes the reorganization of the industry and vastly increases its mechanization. Such long-range aids to efficiency will take time, but it will be surprising if greater output does not soon result from reduced friction between men and management and the desire of the miners to forward the success of a reform they have long passionately advocated.

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THE CURIOUS AMERICAN RELISH FOR converting its sports into Big Business is illuminated by recent bulletins and communiques about the Biggest Deer Hunting Season in History. Deer hunting is really big business in Michigan, where the current season represented an investment of nearly \$75,000,000 as 325,000 hunters clogged three-lane highways leading to the Upper Peninsula. According to sources which *The Nation* considers unimpeachable, the self-respecting deer hunter does not dare venture into the woods nowadays without a minimum investment of \$130 in equipment: rifle, \$65; 20 rounds of ammunition, \$1.80; rifle cleaning kit, \$2.50; knife, \$2; compass, \$2; flashlight, \$1.65; match box, 75 cents; long underwear, \$5; cap, \$1.50; shirt, \$6; coat, \$15; trousers, \$11; socks, \$2; boots (rubber), \$8; boots (leather) \$15; gloves, \$2. If a hunter is lucky enough to kill a deer, and escape being shot himself, it costs him \$50 to have the head mounted. While deer hunters actually do kill deer—24,000 this season in Maine—they seem to be incredibly reckless shots. In fact, the mortality rate among deer hunters must be considerably higher than that for combat troops in the war.

The Atomic Report

THE first report of the Atomic Energy Commission, which was adopted on December 30, 1946, may turn out to be the most important achievement of any United Nations body. Into it have gone six and a half months of hard work by representatives of twelve nations—scientists, engineers, policy makers. In the course of its labors the commission developed a technique of co-operative research, discussion, and formulation of results that might well be taken as a model for other U. N. committees engaged in similar tasks. The lessons learned should be of particular benefit in working out plans for wider disarmament and arms control called for by the General Assembly resolution of December 14.

The commission cut to the minimum the showy debates which in practice have always tended to emphasize differences between the main power blocs and frustrate real achievement. Instead, it carried on most of its de-

liberations in a working committee where scientists and policy makers could examine problems on their own merits and not in the frame of reference of narrow national interests. It is true that complete agreement was not reached; the report was adopted by ten assenting votes with Poland and the Soviet Union abstaining. But in the course of the commission's work many important aspects of atomic energy were investigated, the feasibility of a system of control established, the necessary safeguards against the illegal use of atomic energy outlined, and vital elements in a system of international management, control, and inspection mapped out in some detail.

The effectiveness of the commission's method was demonstrated during the slight crisis that developed out of Mr. Baruch's attempt to force an immediate vote on a resolution embodying the essential characteristics of the original American plan. The opposition to this "stand-up-and-be-counted" ultimatum did not come primarily from the Soviet Union but from nations which had no quarrel with the American plan or even with the American position on the veto. General McNaughton, leader of the Canadian delegation, accepting the principles on which the Baruch resolution was based, was anxious to give every member of the commission full opportunity to examine every proposal on which the commission took positive action. In this stand he was backed by the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and France, nations particularly concerned in the possible development of an irreparable split between the United States and the Soviet Union. As the result of sending the Baruch proposal to the working committee, a number of important amendments were incorporated, and the final recommendations of the commission took into account the arms resolution of the U. N. Assembly.

It is unfortunate that the representative of the Soviet Union deliberately boycotted these final discussions. Had he not done so, his objections, entered in the final meeting of the commission, might have had some validity. As it is, he is in the curious position of urging that at some future time the Baruch plan be examined item by item when this was precisely the opportunity provided him by the Canadian amendment. It was in the working committee that Mr. Gromyko might have pointed out how the American proposal conflicted with the terms of the Charter, the Assembly resolution, and the original Soviet proposal of June 19, 1946. He might have argued that the elimination of the veto contradicts the letter and the spirit of the Charter. But in that case, so does Mr. Molotov's statement that in the day-to-day operations of an international inspection body the veto must not operate. And the Assembly resolution clearly states that the "international system" set up for the control of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction will operate through "special organs, which special organs shall de-

rive their powers and status from the convention or conventions under which they are established." The same convention or conventions—which must carry the unanimous assent of the great powers—could presumably provide for the elimination of the veto in the case of sanctions for proved violations (for which definite penalties have already been prescribed). Moreover, whatever legalistic case Mr. Gromyko might be able to prove, he failed completely to meet the commission's main conclusion that the security of any nation against the illegal use of atomic weapons must rest upon the certainty that no nation can violate the basic convention with impunity.

But the highlighting of the veto issue has failed to illuminate the actual differences between the point of view expressed in the atomic report and that held by the Soviet representatives. As a matter of fact, six and a half months' discussion has not brought out what the Russians really want. They have insisted that a convention to outlaw atomic weapons is a prerequisite of any scheme of atomic control. In the matter of the enforcement of such a convention they remain vague. At the outset, Mr. Gromyko seemed to insist that the enforcement could be carried out through national organs and that an international system would violate the rights of sovereignty. This stand appears to have been modified by Mr. Molotov in the disarmament discussions before the Assembly, when he came out for an international control agency. But what is to be the nature of this international agency? Is it simply to be a subordinate adjunct to the Security Council, subject to the latter's veto? Will it have to receive special mandate from the Security Council to engage in any specific task of inspection? Will it be intrusted only with powers of inspection and be denied those larger powers of ownership and management of atomic-energy installations which, in the Atomic Energy report, are regarded as necessary safeguards? No Russian representative has made himself clear on these points.

As for the American position and that shared by the great majority of members of the commission, there is no objection to the convention outlawing atomic weapons. In fact, such a convention is at the very heart of the commission's proposal. But it is firmly held that such a convention would be absolutely worthless without accompanying and simultaneous safeguards.

One cannot emphasize too strongly that this is an interim report. The section on safeguards appears not to have had the same detailed study as the scientific and technical section, and the report itself calls attention to the magnitude of the unfinished task. The Security Council could do no better than gratefully acknowledge the document as a report on progress and tell the Commission to keep up the good work. When the Commission reassembles after its recess, it will miss the showmanship and drive of Mr. Baruch, whose resignation has just been handed to the President. But no matter who succeeds him

—Senator Austin would be an improvement on Mr. Baruch—in the American delegation there are men of scientific and technical competence, political understanding, and international good will who will expertly assist in devising a system of international control that may turn out to be the first institution of world government.

Peace for Palestine?

ON JANUARY 1 the British government unofficially announced that it was prepared to give serious consideration to any responsible proposal calling for the creation of separate, independent Jewish and Arab states in Palestine. This was not a new idea, for partition has twice been put forward, once in the Peel report issued ten years ago and recently in the quite unrealistic and discredited Morrison-Grady plan. It is known, too, that in conference with Dr. Weizmann and other Zionist leaders, shortly before the twenty-second World Zionist Conference just concluded, London had privately discussed the proposal made by the Jewish Agency in August, 1946, calling for partition on a basis which would make possible a "viable Jewish state." However, the present statement follows closely upon the decision of the Basel conference not to participate in further negotiations unless the situation changed, and so may be regarded as an effort to produce such a change. For overcautious as it is, Mr. Creech Jones's communication does seem to imply some sort of commitment to the idea of the "viable state."

It would seem that London has had its eye upon the realities that lay behind the sensational and rather misleading debates in Basel. For the American resolution rejecting Dr. Weizmann's conciliatory policies, while it was passed by a narrow margin, did no more than instruct future negotiators to refer any new proposals to the Zionist Executive for acceptance or rejection. Since it is known that fourteen out of nineteen members of the Executive favor a partition plan satisfying the essential territorial and political demands of the Jews, the defeat of the Weizmann position was more apparent than real. There is reason to hope that the Colonial Secretary had this fact in mind when he made his conciliatory statement.

The excessive caution of the London announcement was obviously due to a fear that the Arabs would instantly decline to enter negotiations. The Arab high command in Palestine, still insisting on its right to nominate the Grand Mufti as a delegate, has indeed declared that it will not attend the London conference if partition is to be discussed, and the Cairo leaders have supported this ultimatum. In reality, therefore, London for the first time has challenged the Arab movement and intimated that it will, under certain conditions, seek to persuade or compel a change in Arab opinion. If that is so, we be-

lieve it would have been wiser to give the Zionist movement a clear guaranty that full statehood within an agreed area would be quickly granted. To do so would certainly provoke trouble; yet the support of the majority of Zionist opinion and the approval of civilized people throughout the world should be more than sufficient compensation. And a resolute decision to set up a separate Arab state in Palestine would have a powerful appeal for the moderate section of Arab opinion and might conceivably reduce the time and intensity of the resistance.

The new outburst of violence on the part of the terrorists has been countered, inevitably, by stern measures of repression. Non-fraternization orders have gone out to British troops and searches and arrests have increased. The talks between the High Commissioner for Palestine, Sir Archibald Cunningham, and Mr. Bevin are sure to be influenced by these events. Observers fear they may result in decisions which will upset rising hopes for an agreed compromise solution. Certainly, the insistence of the British that the Jewish Agency itself must assume responsibility for curbing the terrorists is a bad omen. The Agency cannot act as long as it is without authority; nor can the Haganah be expected to put down the Irgun and Stern Gang by force when its own organization is outlawed and its arms confiscated. The Haganah has, it is true, threatened to "take action" unless the terrorists quit their attacks. That such action would go so far as civil war is unthinkable, however, unless a complete reversal of British policy gives power as well as responsibility to the Jewish agencies of government and defense.

Notes for a New Year

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

AS I WRITE, the year is only four days old. I have looked it over carefully and without enthusiasm. The best thing I have noticed is that the angle formed by the sun's position at noon and the points on the horizon where it rises and sets is spreading. Not enough to waste many lines on, but enough to cause a modest sense of expansion around the heart. Man's hope may be better measured by that widening arc along the earth's edge than by any of the dubious prognoses of better days you see listed in the morning paper.

THE year 1947 finds me increasingly weary of that old, that noble word liberalism. You meet it these days in all kinds of places, including the pages of *The Nation*. The new *New Republic* acts as if it were a recent, rather exciting discovery of Henry Wallace's. For half a generation or so the word had fallen on bad times and was generally used as a rather derisive epithet, modified by the adjective wishy-washy; but now it has won a new lease of life and I think I know why. Liberal-

ism has become a charm, worn outside the shirt on the left side, to ward off communism and other forms of political evil. I don't believe in charms.

A California friend, speaking at *The Nation* dinner in Los Angeles, said that a liberal was a radical with a wife and two children. The definition is too cynical. Anyhow, the word brings quite different images to my mind. When I think of a liberal I am apt to see an old gentleman walking carefully along the top of a high, narrow fence, a nervous little smile on his face, his eyes fixed on the skyline. Either that, or I see him standing with one leg planted on either side of a sharp, jagged issue. From time to time, he topples over on his face and is neatly sliced into two factions.

But perhaps I am wrong. In South America, radical parties are nearly always reactionary. Here, who knows, the various new liberal parties and groups may grow up to be radical. It would be against history, but I hope so.

HAVING come out recently in support of the positive and forward-looking in political action, may I put in a dialectical word for the nasty, the negative, the downright destructive? I favor both—ideological blueprints and Bren guns, but we're going to fool ourselves again if we simply concentrate on blueprints while the other side demolishes our few hard-won positions.

I firmly predict that Republican counsels of moderation, however shrewd politically, are soon going to be overwhelmed by the demands of the storm troops of the right. Everything will be heaped together and attacked in one lot—liberals, Communists, foreigners, New Deal legislation, labor, Russia. Perhaps Robert A. Taft, too, unless he looks sharp.

It is well to recognize this in advance, because there

won't be much time to prepare when the saturation bombing begins. What we must do is to fight back, beginning now. After all, the first job of an opposition is to oppose. And one of the best short-term reasons for a positive program is that you can oppose with greater effect if you know what you'd like to do in case you win.

WHILE I'm in the mood, I have another prediction for 1947—a sequel to the one above. I predict that the Communists and their various allies and friends, taking note of the threatening signs of the times, are going to become cooperative to the point of embarrassing their liberal opponents. They may not insist on joining the Liberal party or editing the *New Leader*, but they will do their best to convince the amorphous American left of center that they are amiable, trustworthy traveling companions. I predict that they will be firmly rebuffed, at least in the earlier stages of the Great Reaction; but they are going to be an embarrassment just the same, with their habit of doing first and more energetically a lot of things the rest of us are sure we could do better but haven't quite got around to.

My predictions, by the way, like Pearson's and Winchell's, are based on strictly inside information, namely, information from inside the oracle's head.

Oil and Power—

Keith Hutchison's page, *Everybody's Business*, has been omitted from this issue. Next week Mr. Hutchison will write about the Anglo-American oil cartel now being perfected for exploitation of the huge petroleum resources of the Middle East.

Republicans on the Hill

BY WILBUR H. BALDINGER

Washington, January 6

AFTER fourteen years the center of government gravity has shifted from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol. The White House is no longer the important news beat for the reporting of United States history. The Hill is the place, and the man to watch is not the President but a Republican named Taft, or Martin, or even Knutson.

In other years a new session of Congress was not really convened until the pitch came up from the White House. Now it hardly matters what Harry Truman says, except for the record, in his three messages this week to the Eightieth Congress. The Republicans are fully in charge

of their unaccustomed job of governing, and they have made it clear that they want no advice from the Administration. What they want is cooperation, meaning that the President should keep out of their way while they wash away the sins of the New Deal.

The state-of-the-union message which Mr. Truman took to Congress today was even-tempered, conciliatory, and punctuated with wistful hopes that "in our hands, yours and mine joined together," the Legislature and the Administration "can work together." The President mildly asked for the continuing development of his policies, domestic and foreign, whose goal, he said, was prosperity and peace. This message was nothing like last

year's in which he essayed a bold post-war program in a score of social sectors. That program had already been junked; today he simply mentioned his former objectives as things that were still on the nation's agenda.



Caricature by Eekhardt

Representative Knutson

With a hundred anti-labor bills in prospect on the Hill, the President cautioned Congress not to press "punitive legislation" against "a few labor leaders." His four-point labor-management proposals offered few specifics except the organization of a temporary joint commission of the Senate, House, public, management,

and labor to survey the field and come up, especially, with some answer to "nation-wide strikes in vital industries affecting the public interest." Such a survey had been suggested before by the President; it was unlikely that the Republicans would take the renewed suggestion any more kindly now.

The shape of things to come was obscured at the opening of Congress last week by the show in the Senate over a Mississippi obscenity. (A hopeful result of those proceedings is that it is not currently necessary to give Theodore G. Bilbo the dignity of the prefix of Senator.) But beyond the Bilbo headlines there was plenty to indicate that the Republicans, in picking up where they left off in 1933, were starting 1947 as of that Democratic date.

While the post-war world watched and rightly worried, the most powerful parliament was preparing a program in which a bi-partisan foreign policy was to be maintained politically but scarcely economically, and in which domestic policy was to be keyed to a balanced budget. Senator Robert A. Taft, ablest and most powerful Republican on the Hill, laid out these party approaches in a radio speech after a day laudably spent keeping Bilbo from his seat. The six-foot-one Ohioan, brain center of the statesmen at the right of the Senate aisle, gave assurance that "our political policy throughout the world" would be continued along lines which Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan, now president pro tem of the chamber, had helped Secretary of State James F. Byrnes draw.

But the inseparable economics of foreign policy will evidently undergo isolationist weakening. Taft said ominously that "reasonable assistance" to the rest of the world, instead of foreign rehabilitation loans, and "reasonable tariffs," instead of reciprocal-trade agreements, were in the Republican book. The interpretation of "rea-

sonable" by Republicans who opposed Bretton Woods and British loan agreements and who yearn for Smoot-Hawley tariff days will be something to make the Administration—and foreign countries—shudder.

For domestic fare Taft offered the nation hope for emergency housing in a revised Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. (But he plans to cut it up in sections, giving the real-estate lobby a clear chance to sabotage a part at a time, particularly that part which would subsidize a half-million homes for low-income families.) Taft said there ought to be federal aid for health and education, but nothing like the Murray-Wagner-Dingell bill. He promised a "just-to-all" set of new labor laws, adding in an offhand manner that they might ban such offenses as closed shops and industry-wide bargaining.

Joseph W. Martin, the plodding, bulky publisher of North Attleboro, Massachusetts, who jubilantly took up the Speaker's gavel in the flood-lit festive Republican House, made his party's domestic course even plainer. In his own state-of-the-union message, which asked for "cooperation" by all hands but did not contain a single reference to the Chief Executive, Martin observed by way of preamble that the world "lies crushed, broken, and in waste." He thanked God, however, that "the beacon of freedom and security . . . still burns brightly in the United States of America, sending its gleams of hope to the furthestmost points of the world." In the next paragraph Martin described the desperate domestic situation which the Republicans will solve for the comfort of the rest of the world: "Here at home we face grave and pressing problems. The debt into which this nation has been plunged is of such magnitude it cannot be paid off in more than a century. Our people are bowed down under a burden of taxation which is well-nigh intolerable."

Symbolically, House Resolution No. 1 in the Eightieth Congress was offered by Harold Knutson, the Minnesota Representative who has chafed for years to tear down the Democrats' tax structure and now has his big chance as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. The most apt local comment on Knutson's tax-cutting resolution was a Herblock cartoon in the Washington Post captioned "Something for Everybody!" Knutson was tossing a huge money bag to a well-stuffed upper-income bracketeer holding a bushel basket. A little guy in the lower brackets held out his hat for a single coin.

Knutson proposed to cut the government's income by more than \$3,400,000,000, through a 20 per cent



Caricature by Sellgren

Senator Taft

income-tax slash applicable to all incomes except those above \$302,000, whose tax would be cut only 10 per cent. Earlier, in a tax seminar for reporters, Knutson said there were no immediate plans for further reductions in corporation taxes. He thought Congress had done enough for corporations for the present. This was taken to be proof of Knutson's restraint in the field of government economics.

President Truman meanwhile was superintending the rewriting of his various messages—on the state of the union, on the report of his Council of Economic Advisers, and on the budget. The budget message was expected to be so long and exhaustive that its reading would take a

working day in the Capitol. But from appearances on the Hill the three messages would be little more than footnotes in the history of the Eightieth Congress as written by the Republicans. This Congress is their property, and they intend to administer it as such.

The Senate, however, has one gold sticker on its first report card. Bilbo is out, and it looks as if he would not be back—or if he does come back, as if he wouldn't get in. A memory that opening-day visitors in the crowded Senate galleries will not lose is that of Bilbo standing in the aisle, his head bowed, piously mumbling the Lord's Prayer in concert with the chaplain: "... deliver us from evil." The Senate gave a needed assist.

This Brain for Hire

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

MEMO to a would-be war criminal: If you enjoy mass murder, but also treasure your skin, be a scientist, son. It's the only way, nowadays, of getting away with murder.

It isn't safe any longer to be a warmongering politician. If you lose, they'll hang you. If you are a general and lose, they'll shoot you. If you are an industrialist, you'll go to jail. But if you are a scientist, you will be honored, regardless of who wins. Your enemies will coddle you, and compete for you, no matter how many of their countrymen you may have killed. You may even get the Nobel Prize. (Warning: Medicine isn't safe; you might be charged with sadistic experiments. Be sure to pick a nice, clean, safe job such as atom bombs or stratosphere rockets.)

You think I'm kidding? Then read and ponder the story of what became of the Nazi scientists.

In the climactic phase of the war Hitler had at his disposal what was probably the greatest pool of scientific and technical knowledge ever assembled in a single country. Thousands of nuclear physicists, rocket constructors, experts on ballistics, supersonic aerodynamics, jet propulsion, poison gas, were working for him. What he lacked was the capacity to make the right judgment as to which of the newfangled weapons was most likely to win the war at one stroke and therefore should be given top priority. He stunted the atomic scientists, allowing them only a measly \$7,500,000 to spend during the

war, and backed the rocket builders to the tune of \$500,000,000.

The two principal nerve-centers of the Nazi scientific war machine were the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin and the Peenemünde Experimental Station, where the V-2 rockets were hatched. These two institutions employed several thousand scientists and technicians; in the first, the emphasis was on theory, in the second on application.

The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute had two principal departments—the Institute for Physics, headed by Professor Werner Heisenberg, who had won the Nobel Prize, and the Institute for Chemistry, headed by Professor Otto Hahn. Both were eminent nuclear physicists, but the honor of being Germany's top atomic scientist passed to Hahn in January, 1939, when he discovered, in collaboration with Dr. Fritz Strassmann, the secret of uranium fission that started the world race for the atomic bomb. Hahn, who is now sixty-eight, and Heisenberg, who is forty-five, were both Nazi Party members, but Hahn has been given credit for being lukewarm in his political views since he long collaborated with Dr. Lise Meitner, the Jewish woman scientist who was instrumental in bringing Hahn's discovery to the attention of American scientists.

Top dog at Peenemünde was Dr. Werther von Braun, now forty-four, who invented the deadly V-2. Under Braun's management 3,600 of the winged monsters were made and launched at Peenemünde. He was an active Nazi.

Hahn, Heisenberg, von Braun, and scores of other Nazi scientists were all in the mandatory-arrest categories fixed by the Allies before Germany's surrender. Indeed, at the hour of the collapse they were eagerly hunted down by special pursuit teams composed, in

JOACHIM JOESTEN is a journalist and author who has been contributing articles on international affairs to The Nation since 1935. He has just finished a new book which he expects to call "Germany on the Rebound."

the case of the United States army, of commando troops and War Department scientists. The latter, thirty eagle-eyed professors led by Dr. Samuel A. Goudsmit of the University of Michigan, formed the so-called ALSOS mission. (*Alsos* is a Greek word which means "Groves." Get the idea?)

By the time ALSOS went into action the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute and its personnel had been evacuated from Berlin to the little town of Tailfingen in southern Württemberg. The town was occupied by the French First Army in mid-April, 1945, but before the surprised Frenchmen knew what was going on, an ALSOS team from General Patch's Seventh Army, operating a little farther north, had appeared on the scene and nabbed Professor Hahn, along with some of his colleagues. Professor Heisenberg, the second most-wanted scientist, was not there, having established his headquarters in Copenhagen.

After his capture by the Americans Hahn vanished into the limbo of atomic secrecy. A few weeks later, after the liberation of Copenhagen, he was joined by his colleague Heisenberg. All inquiries about their whereabouts and fate were answered with shrugs and head-shakings. Insistent reporters were told, "Ask General Groves" (head of the Manhattan Project), which was tantamount to "Try to get past Cerberus."

Hahn, Heisenberg, and the others did not fare badly at the hands of their American captors. They were not maltreated; they were not lodged in a jail; they were not even held for trial before a war-crimes tribunal or a German denazification court. They were merely kept out of circulation for a few months while the American army prepared to drop the bomb on Hiroshima.

Hunted by the sleuths of the world press in the United States, France, Belgium, and other countries, the two scientists lived peacefully on a farm near London. Then late in January, 1946, they were returned to Germany. For the past few months they have been living in complete freedom in the university town of Göttingen, in the British zone. With them are a number of other well-known German atom scientists—namely, Max von Laue, Walter Gerlach, C. T. von Weizsäcker, Karl Wirtz, Erich Bagge, and Horst Korsching, all former members of the Kaiser Wilhelm Physics Institute.

That citadel of Germany's militarized science has been abolished by the Allied Control Council, and Germans have been forbidden to engage in any kind of war research. Law No. 25, which went into effect on May 7, 1946, specifically prohibits the study of applied nuclear physics, applied aerodynamics, rocket propulsion, jet propulsion, gas turbine engines, radar, under-water sounding devices, electric coding and decoding equipment, ship design, and the remote control of aircraft.

Nevertheless, Professors Hahn and Heisenberg, with their entourage of atom scientists, have just been granted permission by the British Military Government to con-

tinue their work at Göttingen, where they have founded the "Max Planck Society," named after the eighty-nine-year-old "father of German physics." Naturally their activities have only peaceful purposes, but who is going to draw the line, and where? Heisenberg now heads the "Department for Cosmic Rays" of the Max Planck Society.

That Hahn and his associates are now working for the British was clearly brought out in a United Press dispatch from Göttingen of November 2, which reported that Hahn had threatened to discontinue his research unless the British military authorities would let him go to Stockholm to receive the Nobel prize for chemistry awarded him in 1944. He got what he wanted and made the trip in December.

Outside of Germany the edicts of the Allied Control Council have only limited effect, and today between two and three thousand German scientists are actively engaged not only in war research but in the actual development of formidable war weapons. They have been hired—in a few cases the word "drafted" would perhaps be more appropriate—by the United States, Britain, France, and Russia. If a larger number of them—and the more prominent ones—are at work in the Western countries than in the Soviet Union, the reason is simply that Nazi professors preferred to be in the western part of the Reich when the time for surrender approached.

The United States, which is long on atomic but short on rocket talent, took the pick of the German experts on guided missiles. Dr. von Braun, whom G. I.'s interrupted in the middle of the absorbing job of constructing a 100-ton rocket designed to deliver a "pay load" of six tons of explosives to our East Coast cities, is now employed by the Army Ordnance Corps at Fort Bliss, Texas. With Dr. Ernst Steinhoff, developer of V-2 remote controls, and Dr. Martin Schilling, he took a prominent part in the rocket tests conducted in December at White Sands, New Mexico.

Dr. Rudolf Hermann, former director of the Peenemünde Institute for Supersonic Aerodynamics and Ballistics, is one of eighty-six German scientists now working at the aeronautical laboratories at Wright Field, Ohio. Among the others are Dr. Alexander Lippisch, of the Messerschmitt Aircraft Works, who designed the Me-163, the only rocket fighter that saw combat service.

In all some 270 German war scientists, mostly rocket and aircraft specialists, are now at work in various parts of the United States, and the army plans to bring in at least 730 more in the near future. The hush-hush which surrounded the arrival of the first hundred German scientists, headed by von Braun, late in 1945, has been abandoned; the identity of the ex-Nazis working at Fort Bliss and Wright Field is a matter of public record, and the army even proudly announces that it

hopes to save \$750,000,000 in basic research by using the know-how acquired from Hitler's former minions.

The pay which Braun, Hermann, and company draw from the army is not high by American standards—from \$2.20 a day for the small fry to \$11 a day for the big shots, plus \$6 a day for living expenses—but a much more alluring reward is dangled before the Nazi scientists. If they behave well—and why shouldn't they, now that the war is over?—they will be permitted eventually to take out citizenship papers. No one, apparently, finds anything incongruous in the idea that the men who spread death and disaster in London and Antwerp, and worked feverishly to do the same to American cities, will one day be United States citizens.

The British have fifty-six German scientists working for them in England, besides the Hahn-Heisenberg group in Germany. Most of the Germans in England are at the Royal Aircraft establishment at Farnborough, Hampshire, where they are engaged in aerodynamics, jet propulsion, helicopter development, thermodynamics, and related matters. Ten are employed at the guided-projectiles center at Westcott, Buckinghamshire; five turbine scientists work at Newcastle-on-Tyne. All receive the same salaries as British scientists and will be permitted to stay in the country if they make good.

Russia, where atomic research has an A-1 priority, has picked up all the German nuclear brains it could find in its zone or attract from the other zones. Since the fall of 1945 two groups of German scientists have been installed in tourist hotels on the eastern shore of the Black Sea. In one are the top-ranking physicists Professor Max Steenbeck, Gustav Hertz, and Fritz Vollmer. The other is headed by Baron Manfred von Ardenne, who used to operate his private laboratory in Nazi Germany; he is now building a cyclotron for the Russians. Two former associates of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, Peter Thiessen and Christian L. Develogua, have also been reported in Russia. Among the lesser lights in von Ardenne's group are Kurt Mie and Karl Bernhard. The average salary offered these scientists by the Soviet government is said to be 2,000 rubles a month, or \$500 at the official rate. The latest well-known German scientist to take a job in Russia is the physicist Wilhelm Burkhardt, who went to Moscow in October.

France has had to content itself with the crumbs from Germany's scientific table. No really big name is known to have taken service in France, but a recent Reuters report stated that 500 German ballistics experts had arrived at the military airfield of St. Raphael to work on rocket weapons.

The C. I. O. Southern Drive

BY A. G. MEZERIK

Atlanta, January 2

EVERY newspaperman along about last June was busily predicting that the C. I. O. drive to unionize the South would be a great headline maker. "Organizers driven out of Harlan County," "tar and feathers in Mississippi," "union representatives jailed in the Carolinas"—these were the very least of the expected sensations. More than a few editors and commentators foresaw killings. Instead, a dull series of collective-bargaining elections have been reported, with only now and then a spicier item about a beating. Many persons have assumed therefore that the widely heralded drive has been a fizzle. But the results, not headlines, pay off. Judged by the statistics at hand—the number of bargaining elections won, the number of union recruits enlisted—the drive to unionize the South is well on its way to success.

By December 15 more than 290 victories in National

Labor Relations Board elections had been chalked up since the drive began. The biggest plants, such as the great atomic-energy plant of Carbide and Carbon Chemicals Corporation at Oak Ridge, are signing agreements, which indicates that the fruits of midsummer organizing are now being harvested and that the entire campaign is picking up momentum. Only fifty-four elections have been lost by the C. I. O.

Moreover, the loss of an election does not remain a permanent entry on the red-ink side of the C. I. O. ledger. Last spring employees of the Goodyear Rubber plant at Clearwater voted against C. I. O. representation. But the drive organizers had only just begun to fight. And on October 4 there was another election, with the result that Goodyear's 1,345 employees are now members of the United Textile Workers of the C. I. O. This may not seem spectacular; yet the gains are so sizable that they exceed the hopes of the veteran organizers Van Bixner and Sherman Dalrymple, who head the drive. The younger organizers expected more, and because they have poured so much dynamic energy into each individual organizing effort, believe they should have achieved more. Objectively considered, however,

A. G. MEZERIK, author of "Revolt of the South and West," has been traveling through the South and the Middle West studying current political and economic developments.

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remain a C. I. O. r Rubber sentation to fight with the ow mem- t. O. This so sizable rganizers head the, and be nergy int- ey should owever,

stacks up surprisingly well, in view of the traditions and circumstances of the South.

In the past any effort at unionization in the South has been greeted by a militant and organized "hate" movement, financed by employers and supported in many cases by the political power of towns, counties, and whole states. This time the boys who make a living out of whipping up anti-Negro and anti-labor hatred were just as ready and willing as before. But the bulk of the population hasn't been so easily whipped up; many corporations have learned that money spent with the Ku Klux Klan can boomerang; and entire states have said "thumbs down"—as in Georgia, where the KKK was outlawed and the Columbians have just been administered a sound civic and legal thrashing.

Consider, in the light of what Northerners had been expecting in the South, Lucy Randolph Mason's report that up to now she has heard of so few clear-cut violations of the civil rights of organizers that they can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Miss Mason is in charge for the C. I. O. of investigating violations of civil rights. Consider also that in the twelve states included in the drive there have been only eighteen reported beatings—Detroit, during the 1937 automobile organizing drive, could have doubled that figure any week. Yet Northern employers have joined with Southern employers in trying to stop the drive and the KKK is working hard. The Klan and allied outfits have in many localities provided themselves with union suits which they wear under their more characteristic nightshirts. They now support trade unionism, insisting, however, that the unions be run by officers with certain qualifications—they must be white Protestant Gentiles.

The flirtation of the "hate" movements with unionism, perverted though it is, marks a new era, for it indicates that the most uninformed segment of the white Southern population, on which the KKK has always relied for its strength, knows the score at long last. This is not to say that the path of the C. I. O. will now be easy or that Bilbo and the hate-mongers have lost their punch. Nor have the industrial bourbons abdicated. They have put up here and there the bitter fight against unionism which everyone anticipated. In Alexander City, Alabama, the National Labor Relations Board hearing on charges of unfair labor practices brought against the town's big employer by the C. I. O. was denied the use of the City Hall (the mayor is a nephew of the company's head), the Disabled Veterans' Hall, a lodge building seven miles from the town, and a night club four and a half miles from town. But the company, for all its old-style bourbonism, isn't what it used to be, and the hearings are proceeding in the federal courtroom nearby.

For too many years Northerners have used the South as a scapegoat. The South and illiteracy, the South and

barbarity, the South and reaction—the words have been coupled almost as synonyms. And this chorus of disapproval has reacted on the South, stiffening domestic isolationism in a population which has been inculcated with regional pride for generations. As a result the best



citizens of the South, the authentic progressive leaders, have been frustrated. The North has not made the effort required to understand the forward developments in the South, and hence its present surprise at the pacific reception accorded the C. I. O.

For the record, let it be said that the C. I. O. has not made the same mistake. Because the C. I. O. is so largely made up of native Southerners, it has understood the habits and even the prejudices of the people among whom it is working. It has made no daring pronouncements on the place of the Negro in its organization and for that reason has been soundly condemned by some Northerners. Yet in practice the C. I. O. recruits without reference to color, and it goes to bat on color issues, major and minor, when they arise. For instance, when a Columbia, South Carolina, hotel refused to provide accommodations for a Negro business agent, the C. I. O. moved its headquarters from the hotel to the hall of a local union. It sounds like a little thing, but, multiplied many times, such a demonstration does more than words. The C. I. O. stands squarely on the proposition that the worker shall have his dignity and his rights. To win these for him in the South means a double fight, for the achievement will only be real when the Negro worker has the same measure of dignity and rights as others.

The C. I. O.'s policy of political aloofness has given rise to even more violent criticism than that aroused by its failure to make strong statements on the Negro question. The Southern organizing drive, through its directors, has ignored the entire left, including the constructive Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It has not even gone along with the P. A. C., which is hard to take. But the drive is designed to unionize. Until it does that, it cannot hope to influence the political pattern. The South is still hamstrung by voting restrictions, and the controlled electorate has a tradition both of violence and of welcoming a man on a white horse. These are ingredients of fascism, and they have been stimulated in the South many times by hatred of radicals and outsiders. In this context, the political strategy of the Southern drive makes sense.

One of the worst handicaps which the C. I. O. must struggle against is the label of "outsider." Only educa-

tion and information will finally lay that ghost. Actually the C. I. O. is not an outsider at all, since its membership in the South is all Southern and the membership chooses its own leadership. The real outsiders are the Northern monopolists who, owning most of the plants, have controlled the Southern workers. They have so successfully used the cry of "outsider" to divide and rule that they have forgotten how vulnerable they are themselves. Recently at an NLRB hearing one of the attorneys defending a Northern corporation pointed to the C. I. O. organizers and shouted, "These men aren't Southerners. They are outsiders." The C. I. O. lawyer interrupted. "Where are you from?" he asked. "I'm from Boston," replied the discomfited attorney. Further questions brought out that the corporation was being defended by two Bostonians and three New Yorkers. "Outsider" wasn't heard any more that day.

But before the South as a whole will understand who are the real outsiders, the C. I. O. must do a big job. As the organizer of the resources and the man-power of the South for the betterment of Southerners, it must integrate itself with the community in which it works locally. The South is still predominantly rural, and its traditional back-country aversion to unions can be overcome only by proof that the C. I. O. is indigenous and working in the interest of the entire community. This will be the real answer to the cry of "outsider." It demands that the C. I. O. call the turn on the monopolies and promote home-owned business. It demands that the C. I. O. show the relationship between high wages and high-level industrialization. It demands that the C. I. O. promote technical schools and agitate against exorbitant freight rates, rigged prices, patent restrictions, and the other causes of industrial and agricultural backwardness.

All this has to be done in terms that can be understood by human beings who have been denied information and the education necessary for making use of information. High food prices, lack of schools and roads, eroded farms, low wages, migration of young people out of the South—all must be targets, and the reasons for the continued existence of these evils must be exposed. In this campaign educators, independent business men, professional men, and many farmers can be allies; and as these segments of the population recognize in the C. I. O. the champion of a better community and a better South, they will stop fighting its unionization efforts. The political quislings will take the opposite side—as indeed they must on the basis of their allegiances. The consequences of C. I. O. success will benefit the whole country politically.

All this is, I think, understood by the leaders of the C. I. O. Southern organizing drive. And if it were not enough to make the success of the drive imperative, one final item would clinch it. On the day that the South is finally organized, the death knell will sound for the

elective restrictions which deprive the poor white and the Negro of their votes. More information and better education follow in the wake of unionization. The combination spells the beginning of the end of the long domination by prejudice—it means a happy goodbye to the Bilbos and the Rankins.

In the Wind

IN KEEPING with the holiday spirit, the Wind has spent the last fortnight riffling through old wastebaskets and conning the tattered productions of Hucksters, large and small. The Wind is now ready with its short survey of the ethos of American huckstering. Immediately following a brief talk by President Carpenter of the du Pont Company over the air waves on the night of December 23, for instance, the du Pont Cavalcade Choir spun into "Joy to the World, the Lord Is Come."

ALSO BRINGING joy to the world, the Granger Products Company of Floral Park, New York, advertised its men's jewelry this way in the December *Farm Journal*: "Luxurious Xmas Gifts at skinflint prices."

NOW FOR an extract from "A Short Course in Salesmanship" by F. C. Aspley, printed by the Darnell Corporation in Chicago: "When the upper lid covers about one-half the width of the top arc of the iris, you may be sure you have full attention and interest. When the lid lifts clear to the top edge of the color ring, [it] . . . should lead to a successful sale."

TRIUMPHANT publicity release from the Publicity Counsel for Art Competition of Loew-Lewin Productions, Hollywood: "Art Triumphs Over Censorship! Boston censorship has capitulated. Eleven new canvases by outstanding American and European painters [have] just completed a remarkably successful showing at the Stuart Art Gallery. All eleven pictures were painted in competition for the selection of one to be featured in 'The Private Affairs of Bel Ami,' a Loew-Lewin motion picture . . . starring George Sanders."

FROM A poop-sheet on "The Premises of the Declaration of Independence and Their Consequences," distributed gratis by Building Supplies Corporation of Norfolk, Virginia: "We may *rightly* 'hold these truths to be self-evident.' . . . The vote is not a constitutional right, but is a privilege controlled by each state. . . . The privilege . . . of voting . . . should be part of our educational system. *But not how to vote*—a present means of subversive infiltration by underpaid teachers and professors."

NAVY DEPARTMENT public-relations officers, by the way, must be having a hell of a time explaining how the British expedition to the South Polar regions came to forget its 270 pairs of skis, which are now being rushed to the party by aircraft carrier, or icebreaker, or both.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

The People's Front

THAT nations of different political and economic structures can work together to secure peace has become a fixed belief. If this were not so, the entire idea of the United Nations would explode like a pricked balloon. But once established, the belief does not exclude a continuing contest between the capitalist nations and those of socialist tendency. It is not, in the last analysis, a competition carried on in the classic form of a balance-of-power struggle. The nations are not competing merely as nations, but also as representatives of opposing conceptions of life. Most of the recent surveys of world events in 1946 and forecasts for 1947 are meaningless precisely because they minimize the ideological factor in international relations.

Two nations symbolize the nature of this contest—the United States and Soviet Russia. This simplification ignores the middle-of-the-road philosophy evolved by Labor Britain and the efforts of various Western countries to find equilibrium on a socialist basis; but because peace depends above all on relations between America and Russia and on the use to which they put their immense power, people all over the world tend to judge events in their relation to the two giants. An objective look at international developments in the past year shows that the Soviet Union has scored more points than its rivals. The year 1946 opened amid loud denunciations of Russia: the Soviets were behaving badly in the United Nations—they should be put in a corner, isolated along with their eastern satellites, and forced to obey the rules laid down by their Anglo-Saxon betters; 1946 closed with Russia commanding respect in the councils of the United Nations, leading on the question of trusteeships, tossing into the international arena the explosive subject of general disarmament with its strong popular appeal, and handling the ticklish issue of the veto in a way that forced consideration of its arguments even though the vote went against it.

The anti-Russian policy backfired partly because its advocates failed to take into account the socialist factor. They did not see that mobilizing world opinion against Nazi Germany and against Soviet Russia are two very different matters. In Europe at least the workers cannot be won over to a program whose ultimate logic is war with the Soviet state. It is all very well for disillusioned left-wing intellectuals and disgruntled ex-Communists to base their thinking on the assumption that Russia is just another expansionist state, out to grab territory and establish its hegemony. The workers may listen to this bitter indictment, and even agree here and there, but when it comes to a possibility of war against Russia, their answer—whether they are Socialists or Communists or Anarchists—is "Merde."

There is nothing radically new in this attitude. I have been rereading lately the whole story of Western relations with Russia in the early years of the Revolution. Then, as now, the British workers, for example, disliked many things in Soviet foreign and domestic policy, but they liked still less the idea of sending troops against the new-born revolution to please

the gentlemen of the City. It was their revolt that ended British intervention. Looking back at that period one realizes that then as now the promoters of the anti-Russian coalition had the same purpose behind their immediate objectives: to stop the advance of socialism.

Writing in the *World-Telegram* the other day, William Philip Simms observed sadly: "Moscow is expected to dominate the international scene during 1947 even more completely than in the past. . . . In 1946 Russia never, at any time—whether at London, Paris, or New York—yielded on a single fundamental point." Unlike Mr. Simms, I believe the anti-Russian trend was checked not by the intransigence but rather by the elasticity of Soviet foreign policy. Before my recent visit to Russia and after my return I dismissed as unfounded all rumors of an irreparable break. I was convinced that Moscow would never permit disagreements to be carried to the point of damaging the United Nations or risking war. Here again, in the matter of concessions, the socialist factor is too often forgotten. A socialist state, possessed of the vigor and imagination of a regime only thirty years old, is capable of far greater resiliency than the Western countries, saddled with a decrepit economic system and a tradition of striped-pants diplomacy. It was not a malicious columnist in *Pravda* but the highly informed correspondent of the *New York Times*, James B. Reston, who bitingly observed that the State Department was trying to "play a new role with an old team."

If the 1946 balance has been unfavorable to the anti-Russian crusaders, the outlook for 1947 is more dismal. At the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow next March, the Russians are likely to turn up with a better plan for a German treaty than the British and Americans. For with rumors of imminent war discredited and tension noticeably relieved, the Russians are not as fearful as they were a year ago that western Germany may be utilized in an assault against their country. The bargaining positions of the three powers are more even.

If the Moscow conference is successful, it will give the Big Three a new opportunity to substitute cooperation for bloc-building. Differences in ideology need not be an obstacle. Recently a British magazine printed an account of the visit of a Labor delegation to Russia, written by the secretary of the party, Morgan Philips, who is described as "bitterly anti-Communist." According to Philips, Stalin said there were many roads—"not only the Russian"—to socialism; he paid tribute to the accomplishments of the Labor government in the domestic field, and expressed his belief in the possibility of a lasting collaboration among the victorious powers.

After all, if the Allies mean business, they still have two unfinished tasks—the liquidation of fascism, and the fulfillment of their promises of a better world made during the war. So please, gentlemen, during 1947 a little more reconstruction and less juggling with bombs and blocs.

DEL VAYO

Soviet Politics in Germany

BY JOEL CARMICHAEL

Paris, December 15

IN MY first article I showed how the Russians have reorganized German trade and industry and made the economy of their zone an adjunct of the Soviet Union's. Of even greater importance in the long view is the way they have changed the social stratification. The existing class society has not been destroyed, but its internal structure as determined by the distribution of power has been strikingly transformed. In the words of a German administrative official with whom I spoke, "The classes which are the natural enemies of democracy have been broken."

EXPROPRIATION OF LAND AND BUSINESS

The semi-feudal rural aristocracy has been liquidated by the agrarian reform, which was begun last year and is now practically completed. As is known, estates of more than 250 hectares were expropriated without any indemnification and parceled out to landless peasants. It is evident that this reform must have been based on political rather than economic considerations, for the great Junker estates were extremely efficient and well-run agricultural units, whereas the new "colonists," many of whom had been expelled from the east, were so totally without resources that a serious harvest deficit was inevitable. The new small landholders, lacking seed, tools, housing, and other necessities, were compelled to depend on a government bureau, the *Bauernhilfe*, and this bureau has retained extensive economic and political control of its beneficiaries. Thus the reform accomplished two purposes: it satisfied the landless and exiled peasantry at the expense of the great landlords, and it brought the peasantry under the blanket control of the state.

By another decree any property however small can be expropriated if it is not directly exploited by the owner himself. This measure was aimed against landholders who fled to the west and left their farms in charge of a friend or hired man, but it can be used

against new German "kulaks," whose continued existence as a class is thus made dependent on an apparatus for which they no longer perform any indispensable social function.

Expropriation of stores and other business concerns belonging to Nazis, war criminals, and arms manufacturers has been legalized by a measure which was nominally submitted to the popular will in a referendum in Saxony. After being approved there, it has been applied throughout the zone. Possible loopholes in it are plugged by a general ruling (Law No. 24 of the Soviet Military Government) permitting expropriation of any business enterprise "needed by the community." Of course the needs of the community are ascertained by the occupation authorities.

I do not think that the process of general expropriation now in full swing should be regarded as the first step in a far-reaching nationalization program, though it evidently sets up an administrative base for a future program of that sort. Rather it is a method of lashing to the state apparatus a castrated remnant of the former middle classes by turning them into a managerial caste—a phenomenon which has been observed elsewhere. The expropriation, it should be noted, is not all-inclusive: certain notorious Nazis have kept their businesses, and well-known anti-fascists have lost theirs. The determining factor, so far as I could discover, is the individual's relations with the authorities, or what might be called pull. Some expropriated concerns are nationalized, some kept by the occupation authorities, and some sold. Occasionally the former owner turns up again as manager. The industrialists have become in effect the agents of the state economy.

The important point in all this is that the class from which the managers and technical experts spring is not being liquidated as such but simply purged; and the survivors are aware that they retain their privileges or authority, not by virtue of their position in a stable society, but through the tolerance of the authorities. In short, the principle of property, while juridically upheld, has been supplanted by the principle of patronage.

BLOCKED BANK ACCOUNTS

The class structure has been attacked at its very roots by the blocking of bank accounts and the closing of banks. These decrees are still in effect throughout the zone, and in consequence all fortunes except those in the form of personal belongings have disappeared. In what now seems to have been a final concession, the

JOEL CARMICHAEL, Nation correspondent for Central Europe, served during the war with the O. S. S. and the United States Navy. At the end of the war he was assigned to Army Intelligence in Berlin. This is the second of three articles on the Russian zone of Germany, from which Mr. Carmichael has just returned. Speaking both German and Russian fluently, he had access to information not usually open to American correspondents.

holders of less than 1,000 Reichsmarks were allowed to make one last withdrawal of 300 marks. It took the great German inflation of 1923 a year to wipe out the savings of the middle classes; the ruling which blocked all bank accounts accomplished the same thing at one stroke. True, inflation has been avoided, and with that in mind some apologists have called the operation effective "therapy," but if one considers what has happened to the middle classes as a result, its object cannot have been to save the patient.

Old people who live on their savings are dying off. Others have become day laborers; still others gangsters. These new proletarians and the criminal elements which have emerged simultaneously will undoubtedly be a common social phenomenon for some time.

Even youth is subjected to the leveling treatment. An educational reform applied in the whole zone except Berlin sets up a single school system in which primary school is compulsory until the age of fourteen and secondary schooling is reduced to four years. Its avowed object is the abolition of educational privilege.

THE NEW ELITE

Yet to say that a classless society is being created in the Soviet zone would betray the observer's astigmatism. Along with the leveling process described above a development in the opposite direction is clearly visible. Out of the ruck of liquidation and impoverishment a privileged few are emerging—an élite composed of the German intellectuals who support the Soviet-approved Socialist Unity Party (S. E. D.). Among them are the more important party officials, the staffs of the journals, radio stations, and theaters sponsored by the Russians, the heads of women's and youth organizations, and of course the directors of the central administration in Berlin and their representatives in the provinces.

This élite has extremely tangible privileges—extra weekly allotments of food and liquor, special lodgings, and even automobiles. Indeed, its members enjoy much the same luxuries as the Soviet officials, whose social life they share to a certain extent. The Soviet authorities seem to be trying to create a new class entirely devoted to the new order—that is, to their position in it—and hence bound to defend it. The new class has not yet achieved a sufficiently broad base in the German community to stand on its own feet. Its origins are both too recent and too blatantly linked with a foreign power to give it the necessary self-assurance. It has a clandestine and apologetic air. Years of political evolution must pass before the red blood of a self-sustaining authoritarian caste flows in its veins.

THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION

At first sight the political scene in Germany appears similar to that in Western Europe, particularly in France and Italy. The former multitude of parties has been reduced to three big blocs—in western Germany the Com-

munist and Social Democratic parties and a rightist party with a strong religious tinge. Any others are of little consequence. In Soviet Germany the fusion of the Communists and Social Democrats in the Unity Party further simplifies the pattern. There the whole of the left is counterpoised to the whole of the right—the Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Party.

Politically the German bourgeoisie has been hamstrung by the destruction of the Nazi Party, to which one of its wings had given consistent and energetic support, and by the S. E. D.'s adoption of a social-reform program essentially similar to that of the bourgeois Social Democrats. Rightist middle-class groups have thereby been deprived of an openly reactionary party, and the Social Democrats have found themselves obliged to oppose policies they have traditionally favored.

The C. D. U. strongly objects to being called rightist, and in composition it is in fact extremely heterogeneous, containing former Christian trade unionists, members of the old Center Party, Democrats, and members of the Bavarian People's Party. It can be described as right-wing, however, in that it crystallizes the opposition of the middle classes to the program of the left groups and the influence of the Soviet Union. And it does include all the most reactionary persons in Germany today. In this respect it is similar to the French M. R. P., which has been explained as the *Machine à ramasser les Pétainistes*. But whereas the M. R. P. had its roots to some extent in the French resistance movement, and its chief figures are therefore more or less intimately acquainted with the left leaders, the C. D. U. has no bonds with the left.

The chief weakness of the C. D. U., that is, of the splintered and demoralized German middle classes, stems from the inadequacy of mere hostility to the left and the Soviet Union as a base for a bourgeois party. A genuine program is essential, and this the C. D. U. leaders, because of their extraordinarily diverse origins, cannot produce. The resulting flabbiness of purpose is made worse by the difficulty of maintaining contacts across zonal boundaries. I often heard the reproach that in Berlin, where it must compete with the S. E. D., the C. D. U. is progressive and even socialist; in Hamburg it is conservative and capitalist; in Cologne clerical; and in Munich counter-revolutionary and particularistic. Such variations are perhaps explained by the desire of the C. D. U. to stand above party in the narrow sense and become a union of all tendencies this side of Marxism. The charge of clericalism is denied by pointing out that for the first time in German history Catholics and Protestants are effectively combined under one banner. But the inherent instability of the party is so great that not even the necessity of making a united front against the Communists and Social Democrats in the west and the Unity Party in the east is likely to be enough to keep the Christian Democrats glued together.

ONE OFFICIAL PARTY

The S. E. D. is not only the instrument of the occupation; it is also the blatant organizational expression of the neo-élite the Russians have been systematically cultivating. No one but a professional supporter of the party could take seriously the official pretense that the S. E. D. is on an equal footing with other parties. "There are three parties, but one is *the* party," was a remark I heard frequently. And only in a purely formal sense does the S. E. D. represent a fusion of the Communists and Social Democrats. Its driving force is of course the Communist Party. Outside Berlin the fusion was compulsory; in Berlin, under the aegis of quadripartite control, some choice was possible. As a matter of fact there already existed a perfectly genuine quasi-ideological split within the S. P. D., and a great many Social Democrats in Berlin voluntarily acquiesced in the fusion because they were convinced that the only way to realize a reformist program was to participate in the bureaucratic power not so much of the occupation authorities as of the Soviet Union itself.

Their attitude of course was simply another reflection of the fact that Germany is too enfeebled to sustain any independent political activity. It is stretched taut and helpless between two magnetic poles, around which all political manifestations necessarily gravitate. To reproach the occupying powers with backing their own horses by favoring their "own" political parties is naive. Germany's present position makes that inevitable.

Commentators on German politics have been somewhat misled about the Unity Party by the language in which it clothes its purposes. Its leaders bend over backward to avoid *saying* anything that might be distasteful to more than the most ideologically hidebound of its opponents. This is probably one of the reasons why the extremely drastic social leveling that I described above has been so little emphasized; the authorities have been extraordinarily reticent about what is taking place. Nationalizations and economic reforms are seldom mentioned; the talk is always of "purging Nazis and war criminals," of "cleansing the economic apparatus of crypto-fascists," and so on. The radical alteration of the social structure which has already been carried out is cloaked in such euphemistic jargon as "rooting out the last vestiges of fascism," "economic denazification," or "the elimination of excessive purchasing power." These tactics can only be understood as a form of political cajolery. They represent the prudence not of a party campaigning for power but of one that is already firmly entrenched and seeking to broaden the base of its power.

Despite routine denials, the S. E. D. has the unmistakable aura of an official party. It is in control of the youth movement, the women's and peasants' organizations, and the highly centralized organization of labor. Outside

the big cities there is no other effective party. Above all, it is recognized as the only channel for getting a respectable job.

THE S. E. D. AND THE OCCUPATION

The basis of the party's authority is its connection with the occupation forces. It is considered the chosen agent of the Russians, and hence any opposition to it is equivalent to an insurrectionary attitude to the conquerors. "Officially" of course the S. E. D. denies this and calls itself a national party, but its national pretensions are seriously weakened every time it denounces criticism of itself as an "intolerable anti-Soviet provocation." The Russians for their part emphasize their intimacy with the S. E. D. by announcing that many of their decrees are in response to the demands of the party.

While the S. E. D. derives strength and prestige from its close relations with the occupation authorities, it also shares their unpopularity. And with the majority of Germans in all zones the Russians are decidedly unpopular, not for political reasons but because of the disasters of the war, the atrocious conduct of the Red Army during its triumphal entry into Germany, and the ineradicable distaste of any people for foreigners in control of their country.

The party's official position with respect to former Nazis, as enunciated some time ago by Walter Ulbricht, its vice-president and real leader, is that there is a clear distinction between "big" Nazis, who are to be eliminated, and "little" Nazis, who may possibly be forgiven. In practice the concept of bigness is shaded by social considerations, and the term can be applied to any middle-class industrialist whether or not he was a party member. Social Democrats must exhibit superhuman devotion to the party in which they have been merged to mitigate their fundamentally suspect character. They can be held criminally liable for so-called diversionary activity—open criticism of the S. E. D. line—or fascist activity, such as an attempt to restore the S. P. D. The Russian political police determines the severity of their punishment, which may vary from bread-and-water rations for a few days to unexplained lasting disappearance.

The genuinely sincere political following of the S. E. D. in the zone is rather restricted. There are the actual Communists, who are entirely dependable but are handicapped by having to conceal their real aims—that is, if they are professional Communists and not merely communistic-minded Germans. In any case they are not numerous enough at present to fulfil their ultimate responsibilities. There are the German patriots who are speculating on the chance that the Russians will provide the props for the restoration of German power. If their guess seems good, their numbers will rapidly increase. And there are the usual opportunists, the largest group of all, who are simply waiting to see which way the wind will finally blow.

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The Russians' attempt to cajole the Germans by favors to the S. E. D. is hampered by their material impoverishment, which bars any real liberality, and by the Germans' own invincible feeling of superiority, despite their respect for Soviet strength. The Russians have not yet

benefited from the misery, industrial stagnation, and political gloom in western Germany. I found the atmosphere in their zone charged with hostility and distrust. Yet I believe their administration is more firmly established than that of any other occupied area.

American Students Talk It Over

BY JOHN CURTIS FARRAR

Chicago, December 30

IN *The Nation* of December 21 Harold J. Laski said that a student organization cannot be political without being partisan. Recently in the United States there has been the beginning of an organization whose founders know it must be political but at the same time are determined to keep it free of partisan control.

During the last few days representatives of almost two million college students have been meeting at Chicago; 295 colleges and 12 national student organizations sent delegates; both radical and conservative groups participated. The major decision taken by the conference, on which there was unanimous agreement, was to initiate the building of a secular, non-partisan national student organization based on the campus as a unit. Leftist elements did not in any sense control the proceedings.

The Chicago meeting was organized by members of the United States delegation to the International Students' Congress in Prague last August. They had helped form the International Union of Students at the Prague meeting, and believed that if the United States was to cooperate effectively with the I. U. S. in promoting international understanding, a new, all-inclusive national student organization was necessary. Various existing organizations, such as the National Federation of Catholic College Students, the National Intercollegiate Christian Council, American Youth for Democracy, and Unitarian Youth, agreed that some sort of over-all body was needed to coordinate their activities.

When this idea was presented to the conference, however, it was quickly taken out of the hands of the Prague delegation. Some 456 of the 475 delegates came directly from campuses, and many of them were wary both of the students who had planned the conference and of the organizations interested in it. The reports which had reached the United States about the International Union of Students had emphasized the communistic character

of its executive board. The chairman of the United States delegation, moreover, was Russell Austin, who had been elected by leftist groups in the American Veterans' Committee to the chairmanship of the Chicago University chapter.

Mistrust of the student organizations came from various sides. American Youth for Democracy, Intercollegiate Division, which has more than 5,000 members at more than 75 colleges, is not predominantly Communist, but many of the leaders are. On campuses where it has well-organized chapters, as at Hunter and Cornell, it is able to control or at least influence the election of delegates to student conferences. One of its practices is to use the racial issue to its own advantage in elections. On the other hand, the leaders of the two large Catholic student groups, the National Federation of Catholic College Students and the National Federation of Newman Clubs, each with more than 150,000 members, though progressive in some ways, are bound by principles which are handed down to them as absolute and uncompromisable. They have employed what amount to obstructionist tactics in meetings where other points of view prevailed. And they have used red-baiting to their own ends. At the Chicago meeting both the Catholics and American Youth for Democracy were out to build up their own power in the new organization.

The general desires of the students from campuses were formulated by the delegation from the University of Texas. (Texas students had already entered the political field in an unsuccessful attempt to elect their candidate for governor of the state.) The Texans were led by George Nokes, one of the twenty-six members-elect of the Texas state legislature who attend the university, and by James Smith, president of student government and leader of the fight to gain admittance to the law school for a Negro student. Smith was elected president of the Executive Committee charged with putting on a convention next summer at which the new organization will be set up, defeating Russell Austin, who was afterward elected vice-president by a hundred-vote plurality. The Texas plan embodied many objectives on which there seemed to be general agreement—namely participation in the International Union of Students and in other

JOHN CURTIS FARRAR is back at Yale after serving in the navy during the war. He was one of the American delegates at the International Students' Congress in Prague last summer.

international activities, increased educational opportunities, better living conditions for students, and the encouragement of self-government on the campus.

The conference panel on "aims and purposes" stated definitely that a primary aim of a national student organization should be to eliminate racial discrimination in education and suggested specific action for securing the repeal of the segregation laws in certain Southern states. Delegates from seven Southern states informed the plenary session that they would not be able to ask their universities to participate further in the organization if this were allowed to stand. Several Negroes from the North suggested that a middle course might be indicated. Finally a compromise was worked out which paid lip service to the ideal of equality but left the usual loopholes for segregation in the phrase "equal access to educational facilities." The question whether the white Southern schools will be admitted will be discussed more fully at the constitutional convention next summer.

In this matter, as in others, the delegates showed a healthy desire not to make important decisions quickly. They resolved to send the American vice-president of the International Union of Students, William Ellis of Harvard, to the February meeting of its executive board in Prague. On the basis of his report and of all other information that can be gathered, the convention will decide what the position of students in the United States should be with respect to the I. U. S. The exact extent to which the new organization will engage in political activity will remain under consideration.

The naive altruism which many people expect to rule student meetings was not in evidence at Chicago. The elections were decided in all-night private caucuses at which was formed a coalition between Catholics and liberal elements to keep the A. Y. D. from electing its candidates to important offices. The liberal group felt that in general the thing to fear was the left; the Catholic minority, they believed, could not retain control for very long even if it gained it temporarily. Russell Austin was the only candidate approved by the left who was elected to an executive office or staff position; he was made vice-president of the Executive Committee largely because he had done so much to assure the success of the conference. The A. Y. D. elected only two or three of their people to the thirty-three man Executive Committee; the Catholics have seven or eight members, most of whom come from church universities.

The Chicago conference highlighted two important qualities found in present-day college students. They have certain national and international objectives for which they are willing to work hard; and they do not intend to be used by partisan political forces. Because this attitude is exactly what the country needs, the student movement should make a valuable contribution to political life.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

FOR some time an extremely important minority in the radio industry has argued that radio's service to the listener was not what it should be, and that the industry ought to have some specialist examine it under the microscope and determine how good and how bad a job the broadcasters



are doing. About thirteen months ago, after repeated needling by Dr. Frank Stanton, then vice-president and now president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, the National Association of Broadcasters took action. A survey was conducted by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver, and a detailed analysis of the data assembled was made by Paul F. Lazarsfeld, director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University. Last November the results were published by the University of North Carolina Press in "The People Look at Radio."

The book pinpoints radio's weaknesses and suggests what might be done to remedy them. It presents the side of both the critics and the industry. It weighs the social responsibilities of radio against the claims of the advertisers.

About one-third of radio's audience were found to be really against commercials. The features most generally condemned—and this will surprise no one—are their length, their dullness, their overselling, and their use of noises to get attention.

The examination of newscasts indicates a need for more local news, but the book explains that stations use news services for national and international news coverage and would have to set up their own machinery for local news. It suggests that local sponsors might cover the cost.

In dealing with the fact that only 12 per cent of the respondents complained of inaccuracy or bias in radio newscasts, Mr. Lazarsfeld points out that although the question is now purely academic, the time may come when radio will have to prove its freedom from bias.

With respect to comedy, Mr. Lazarsfeld notes that "there is very little satire on American programs. A few comedians use their programs to show up prejudices, or move more or less timidly in the direction of social criticism. But the great educational power satire could have . . . is not fully utilized."

"The People Look at Radio" is well worth reading on many counts, but the most important statement it makes is this: "The volume and position of commercials and the tendency to oversell . . . are the two factors which the industry, by self-regulation, should do something about in rather short order." It will be interesting to see what action, if any, is taken by individual stations.

BOOKS and the ARTS

A Chancellor at Dachau

AUSTRIAN REQUIEM. By Kurt von Schuschnigg. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.50.

ALMOST a decade ago Kurt von Schuschnigg, then federal Chancellor of Austria, in a large volume, "Dreimal Oesterreich," expressed his political philosophy, the creed of a highly cultured Austrian conservative strongly influenced by his early training at a Jesuit college, an admirer of Mussolini's corporate state, and a staunch monarchist. When the book appeared in Dorothy Thompson's English translation, the author was already a prisoner of the Nazis, whom he had vainly tried to appease by measures that were more than just conciliatory. Anyone expecting that *Anschluss*, captivity, and World War II would be able to change Schuschnigg's semi-fascist philosophy will be disappointed. Unlike Léon Blum, who as a prisoner of the Nazis revised some of his favorite opinions, the Austrian continued to cling to his pet ideas, to judge by his present book of memoirs. It is composed of excerpts from his prison diaries, lengthy political treatises also said to have been written in prison, and the transcripts of telephone conversations between Berlin and various capitals in the days of the *Anschluss*.

As if he were pleading for kindness on the part of reviewers and other readers, Schuschnigg insists that his book cannot claim to be "anything but a personal account and a human confession." But is there any reason why the book should be regarded as anything but a purely political apology? The ex-Chancellor's sufferings in various Nazi prisons and camps were, at worst, of a psychological nature; after all, much of the time he was united with his family, and he had radio, books, and newspapers; for one who, like this reviewer, spent quite some time in the hell of Dachau, it is somewhat amusing to read that Schuschnigg, the privileged prisoner, liked it there: "Nowhere did we fare so well as here, and nowhere was the treatment so relatively decent."

The reader probably will be left cold by Schuschnigg's diaries if he has read such tragic documents as Langhoff's "Moorsoldaten" or Szalet's "Experiment E," but he will read with great interest Schuschnigg's long discussions of Austrian politics. The monarchist Schuschnigg regrets the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, asserting that the creation of new states carved out of its body merely aggravated the minorities problem, and endeavoring to show by means of some rather dubious mathematics that the number of "irredentist" people in Central Europe was greater in 1919 than it had been before. He naively traces the deep differences between the political parties in post-war Austria back to the lack of a personality who could have bridged them, like Vienna's "beloved" Mayor Lüger, an arch-reactionary, or old Emperor Francis Joseph, one of the grave-diggers of Austria. He revives the myth that the peace treaty of 1919 "bereft" Austria "of the means to maintain her independence." Referring to Austria's internecine strife, he

claims that "we had no intention in 1933-34 of dissolving the Socialist Party, of crushing their trade unions, or of changing the existing political position of the party," although nowadays nobody doubts that Dollfuss, Starhemberg, and Fey precipitated the tragic showdown. He maintains that the authoritarian regime had not destroyed democracy in Austria: "We retained the principle of free elections, not through political parties, but through corporate bodies," not mentioning the fact that these bodies were composed exclusively of protégés of government and clergy. He denies that there was any government-inspired anti-Semitism under his regime, especially in the economic field, although actually many Jewish physicians, teachers, and other experts lost their jobs. He calls the fears of a Hapsburg restoration, then held by many foreign observers, "hysterical" and "outright surprising," although Schuschnigg was more favorably inclined toward the old dynasty than any other chancellor of the republic.

Schuschnigg tries hard to convince the readers that in March, 1938, he could do nothing but yield to Hitler's demands in order to avoid useless bloodshed. That may be true, although it is thinkable that even then, in the twelfth hour, armed resistance to German pressure might have blocked Hitler's plans for a future "bloodless" conquest of Europe. But it is strange to note that an Austrian patriot like Schuschnigg should still cling stubbornly to the fallacious idea that Austria was and will always be "a German state." Millions of Swiss people protest that they are Helvetians, although they talk German.

Schuschnigg's language is clear and concise, and he seems to mean what he says. But his confessions do not exonerate him; he was a poor statesman, vacillating and wasting his opportunities, who permitted himself to be trapped by his "best friends," including fifth columnists. He was also a small man who worried more about his electricity bill than about the hecatombs that took place outside his own swanky "prison" in the Belvedere Castle.

ALFRED WERNER

Innocence

The wisdom of the old will sometimes show
A kind of innocence, the gentle smiles
Hovering about the eyes that seek to know,
The veined, brown hand that yet beguiles
When it is lifted slowly from the knee
While the old voice with sudden richness rings.
Yet their hearts too may know a secret glee,
Seeing that fallen powers still have wings.
So Satan, after all that summer's day,
Found strength, though impotent, to fly from hell
To where the wisdom of experience
Might tempt us all. The old may still betray
The young, who, like the angels, cannot tell
The guile of conquest from old innocence.

ARTHUR MIZENER

Music and Society

MUSIC IN OUR TIME. By Adolfo Salazar. W. W. Norton. \$5.

M^{R.} SALAZAR believes that the "form society assumes at a given moment is reflected in the art of that moment. That art, so closely bound to the life it mirrors, is affected in an analogous way by the crisis through which the contemporary society may be passing. . . . And it is the object of this book to demonstrate this correspondence in the field of contemporary music." There can be disagreement enough about this whole conception of the relationship of art to society, but it might well be useful as a basis for a clear statement of the intention and the achievement of modern music. It is disappointing that Dr. Salazar has not really done anything with it in his book. Outside the introduction this "correspondence" seems, surprisingly, to be taken for granted; what the crisis in music corresponds to in society as a whole is never made explicit; and as a result the crisis in music seems, in Dr. Salazar's statement, not very clear, and not very exciting either. "The external forms of style are symbols which the artist uses to express, within the realm of each art, the way of life in his epoch. . . ." But Dr. Salazar talks only about these external forms of style. I am myself not satisfied enough with this version of the correspondence between art and society to be willing to supply the missing links in Dr. Salazar's argument by my own inference, and I doubt that other readers will want to either. It is by no means obvious what this inference should be. What exactly does the break-up of tonality parallel in the crisis of society as a whole? Without precise formulation of the "correspondence," the long discussion of musical nationalism lacks significance. (I think particularly of the misleading emphasis put on Debussy's nationalism.) And if we have to and want to make these large-scale inferences for ourselves, Dr. Salazar's statement and approval of Stravinsky's answer to the crisis—by a thorough eclecticism and a return to tonality and formal structure—can be interpreted as very dubious politics indeed. Dr. Salazar's theory of correspondence appears to be a superficial and arbitrary *post facto* frame, designed to give coherence to what is merely another history of musical styles during the last hundred years.

Nor as a history, with a simple chronological order, does the book seem particularly illuminating or incisive. Distinguished mainly by copious reference to the other arts and to biography, by its non-critical objectivity, by its sympathy with its material, and by its impressive array of sheer in-

formation, the book suffers from a loose and digressive structure and from imprecise terminology. Despite pages of analysis, "impressionism" and "expressionism" are not clearly defined; the analogies to the painting of the period introduce more examples instead of illumination. The word "poetic" is used as a technical term with an apparently precise meaning which is never made clear: this makes the discussion of Fauré's music difficult to follow. And there are other instances. Here, it seems to me, Dr. Salazar would have been more helpful if he had gone to what he admits is the root of the matter with a discussion of the "ways of life" which produced these different kinds of expression. One needs at least a sketch of his aesthetic to understand his terminology in the regions to which he seems to extend its implications.

Finally, a history of "tendencies" and "leading ideas" must maintain an equilibrium between the particular and the general; it cannot be true or useful unless it does justice to the individual composer and work in all their particularity. One cannot complain if in his chapters on nineteenth century background Dr. Salazar abstracts from the music of Berlioz, Chopin, and others only those qualities which contemporary music inherits and develops, although these qualities are not those which make Berlioz or Chopin uniquely themselves. But if in turn he abstracts from the music of modern composers only those qualities which will show the line of development from the nineteenth century through our century most clearly, then the tendency has become more important than the music, and the individual work has become, in fact, the "secondary source." It is doubtful that the layman reading this book for assistance in understanding modern music (why else?) will be helped by Dr. Salazar to come to that personal and individual experience with each work that is the real knowledge of music. For example, the pages on Satie, Chabrier, Fauré, Berg, even the whole chapters on Debussy and Stravinsky, in my opinion, do not succeed in defining exactly or even, sometimes (Satie, Chabrier), recognizing the unique characteristics of temperament and technique which distinguish each of these composers from the others who perhaps wrote in the same style. For this blindness, an awareness and even an incisive statement—which Dr. Salazar's book does not seem to me to be—of the development of forms and styles in a period is not an adequate compensation.

ROBERT E. GARIS

The People's Attorney

BRANDEIS: A FREE MAN'S LIFE. By Alpheus Thomas Mason. The Viking Press. \$5.

DURING Brandeis's formative years, both as a lawyer and a public man, a revolution was taking place in America. With the absorption of free land and the closing of the frontier, industry replaced agriculture as the norm. The drift of population was from rural to urban areas, and the corporate form of business organization replaced individual enterprise. Accompanying this change in the picture of American society came the opportunity for the exploiter and the monopolist to grasp power.

Mr. Mason shows that Brandeis was one of the first lawyers to realize the implications of this new situation. He reacted unfavorably to the tendency of the prominent attor-

"The resolution of conflict in self is like the making one of opposites in art."

AESTHETIC ANALYSIS PUBLICATIONS by Eli Siegel

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Eli Siegel won the Nation Poetry Prize in 1925 with *Hot Afternoons Have Been in Montana*. This fiercely discussed (and misunderstood) poem foreshadowed the present Aesthetic Analysis.

FREE PUBLICATIONS of the Committee for Aesthetic Analysis: "A Declaration of Purposes" and "Questions and Answers about Aesthetic Analysis." For copies of any or all of these, and for information as to the Aesthetic Analysis Poetry Group and lectures, write to MARTHA BAIRD, 67 Jane Street, New York City.

neys of his day to tie up with the dominant economic interests; he knew that the real conservative is he who is ready to adjust the status quo to the changing pattern of society. He was a practical man, and he gave warning that "there will come a revolt of the people against the capitalists unless the aspirations of the people are given some adequate legal expression; and to this end cooperation of the ablest lawyers is essential."

Against this background the author traces Brandeis's activities through four main periods. During the first period he was a practicing lawyer in Boston. Already the methods he used as a champion of public causes began to emerge. Engaged in such famous battles as the franchise contest with the Elevated Railway in Boston, the fight for savings-bank life insurance, the notorious New Haven Railroad case, and the United Shoe Machinery affair, Brandeis exhibited a tenacity which wilted his opponents. For nine years, from 1905 to 1914, he fought the New Haven Railroad in its attempt to absorb the Boston and Maine. He had many setbacks, with court decisions going against him and officials and newspapers publicly condemning him; but he fought back, rallied others to his side, and persevered, until his contentions were upheld and victory was complete.

In the second period he appeared as an attorney on the national scene, fighting the famous public-land controversies of the Taft regime. Two issues were involved—the defense of national resources against individual encroachment and the establishment of individual responsibility in public office. Brandeis held to a strict definition of individual responsibility, and he constantly emphasized moral law as the basis for good government.

By this time he was a rich man. Some saw a contradiction between his personal fortune as a corporation lawyer and his stand as the "people's attorney." He is "the most liked and the most hated man at the bar in America," said L. S. Richard. But Brandeis had no blanket social program to cover all the cases he handled; he was concerned only with specific causes, and was guided by an organic view of the law which considered that it needed to be adapted to social changes. He did not try to overturn the economic system but only attempted to make it work better.

Next he turned to the political stage, first attaching himself to La Follette progressivism and later becoming adviser and spokesman for Wilson's Administration. He was certain of the worth of democracy as a way of life, but realized that democracy is an empty word unless the people fulfil their duties as citizens. He therefore considered it necessary for men of independent thought to rouse the public from apathy to action; and that was the role he assigned to himself.

Last comes the period during which Brandeis was a Justice of the Supreme Court. Mr. Mason shows how he helped to shape the court's understanding of its own powers, how he worked with Holmes toward an application of law based on fact and democratic needs rather than on rigid precedent. The factual meaning of the famous phrase, "Holmes and Brandeis dissenting," is explained to the reader in terms of legal and socio-political history.

It is clear from this biography that the author has diligently uncovered most of the necessary documents. Mr. Mason has been studying Brandeis's life and work for a num-

ber of years and has acquainted himself with every relevant incident. But in his anxiety to leave out nothing he sometimes clouds the broader issues of Brandeis's life and leaves the reader with merely a sourcebook of details. He has tried to remain a neutral, content to present a vast mass of material from which the reader must make his own selection. But the details are too complicated: it would have been better to edit his material more severely.

H. DAVID DAVIS

Rimbaud in Exile

PROSE POEMS FROM THE ILLUMINATIONS. By Arthur Rimbaud. In a New Translation by Louise Varèse. New Directions. \$1.50.

HELEN ROTHAM'S translation of Rimbaud's prose-poems was published by Faber and Faber in 1932. New Directions published a few selections from this book in 1943; it is hard to understand why, instead of reprinting all of the more accomplished Faber book, New Directions now publishes Mrs. Varèse's translation. A short review of this book could consist of a mere quotation: "La mer de la veillée, telle que les seins d'Amélie"—"The sea of the vigil, like Emily's breasts."

Louise Varèse is expert with the dictionary, but because grammar at times bores her she succeeds in spoiling one of Rimbaud's best poems: After the Deluge begins with the description of a fresh green world emerging from the purifying flood waters, makes a long contrast with the immediately consequent bloodthirst and sordidness of men, and ends with the invocation that the water may come to destroy

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and cleanse again. "Dans la grande maison de vitres encore ruisselante, les enfants en deuil regardèrent les merveilleuses images" does not mean, however, "In the big house with window panes still dripping . . ." since the singular *ruisselante* applies to the house, and anyway means *streaming* not *dripping* as though with rain. Helen Rootham had at least said, "In the great house of glass still streaming with water. . . ." Rimbaud in his most visionary poems fires bursts of images in the chaos of the unconscious; the reasoning mind, even in spite of itself, tries for some association of ideas, rushing at any target offered—here, the words or the implication: *water* or *rain*. But Rimbaud does not tell what the house is streaming with, and no translator has the right to blear Rimbaud's or the reader's vision by decking out the original. Only a very few lines earlier in the poem Rimbaud has written: "Blood flowed, at Bluebeard's house—at the abattoirs, in the circuses, where the seal of God blanched the windows. Blood and milk flowed." It isn't impossible that the glass house containing the children is streaming with something else than water and may have something to do with birth, especially if one considers the poem's closing lines: "And the Queen, the Witch that lights her charcoal in the earthen pot, won't ever want to tell us that which she knows, and which we don't."

In the poem *Enfance* the opening lines set the scene—two revenants moving and watching as though still alive: "C'est elle, la petite morte, derrière les rosiers.—La jeune maman trépassée descend le perron." Translated by Louise Varèse: "It is she, the little girl, dead behind the rosebushes.—The young mama, lifeless, comes down the stoop." But Rimbaud wrote: "It is she, the dead little girl, behind the rosebushes." She may be standing there, watching her dead young mother descending the steps; *trépassée* means only one thing in French, *dead*; Mrs. Varèse's young mama seems only to be suffering from the vapors.

In *Mystique*, if Rimbaud had meant to say, "From the meadows flames leap up," he would not have written, "Des prés de flammes bondissent," which means "Meadows of flames leap up" and presents a different image. On the other hand, we have an exact if lifeless translation of "Des fanums qu'éclairaient la rentrée des théories" (Promontory), where *théorie* means a sacred embassy sent out to consult a Greek

oracle: "Fanes lighted up by the returning embassies," and not, as in Helen Rootham's version, "Shrines illumined by the presence of a revived speculation." Whatever gratitude one feels toward Mrs. Varèse here soon collapses. "Rien ne bougeait encore au front des palais" is turned into "Nothing yet stirred in front of the palaces"; any schoolboy would have correctly translated *in the forehead of*, allowing one to see the façade of buildings as faces. "And the dream fades," we read for "Et le rêve fraîchit."

If they had been the result of an attempt to convey some of Rimbaud's music and rhythms to the American reader, these mistakes would not matter in the least. But Mrs. Varèse is painstakingly uninspired. A single poem of Hart Crane's, for instance, though not at all derivative, can give you more of the essence of Rimbaud than all these translations together. They do, of course, keep one from having to turn too often to the dictionary.

RENÉ BLANC-ROOS

Hurry Up Please Its Spinach

HURRY UP PLEASE ITS TIME. By Elizabeth Hawes. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2.50.

THIS curious little work is perhaps best treated as a unique type of mystery, in which the reader's object is to discover the point of the book. The title seems to present a clue, of course, and after you *Hurry Up* and read the volume you do discover that It's Time to fight for socialism. But there is nothing about socialism in the book except for a few remarks at the end expressing the author's unqualified and unanalyzed indorsement.

The jacket, which I consulted eagerly for a lead, says that in this, "her most important book" (more important even than "Fashion Is Spinach"), Miss Hawes "dares to expose our most carefully hushed-up ills." These appear to be, in rising order of gravity, the patronizing attitude of trade-union men toward trade-union women; marital infidelity in and out of the labor movement, or the "Great Bed Bug"; the congenitally fascist nature of employers; red-baiting in the unions; and, above all, Walter Reuther, who is not as hushed-up an ill, however, as Miss Hawes would like to make him.

The author is a passionate advocate of unity in the labor movement, and to this end she divides its members into four groups: red-baiters, a depraved lot who cannot be damned too heartily; "non-red-baiters," who are the salt of the earth; "catechismic Communists," eccentric but harmless folk who go about saying, "We must reach a broad section of the masses"; and "common Communists," staunch fellows who smile at their catechismic comrades, work faithfully with their non-red-baiting brothers, and bear cheerfully the burden of the day.

The way to achieve unity among these groups obviously is to get rid of the ones you don't like. Out of the depth of her two and a half years of experience in organized labor Miss Hawes is prepared to do the job of sifting. Reuther and his red-baiters must go. The Redhead, as she calls Mr. Reuther in her mellower moods, is "dangerous," and his loyalty to the union open to question. Miss Hawes suggests that he is angling for the Presidency of the United States

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and thinks he has the requisite skill in machine politics. His activities turn her "as cold as do those of the N. A. M.," and if we permit him to "mix us up by a red scare or individualistic behavior—then we may expect the U. S. A. to follow in the footsteps of Nazi Germany."

These remarkable bits of libelous passion, fully backed by strained inference and far-fetched anecdote, are in keeping with the vapory nature of the book, which in a disjointed way tells of the frustrations in educating women in the principles of trade unionism.

I do not profess to have discovered the point of the book, but since all mysteries are supposed to have a culprit, I pick Reynal and Hitchcock.

ROBERT BENDINER

The Queen and Columbus

FERDINAND AND ISABELLA. By Hermann Kesten. A. A. Wyn. \$3.

SEVEN years ago I reviewed in these columns Hermann Kesten's novel "The Children of Guernica," the book with which that author introduced himself to the American reading public. "Ferdinand and Isabella" testifies once more to the freshness and originality of his talent.

The events described in this historical novel are known to any college student—Spain's ruthless and tenacious struggle for power started by Queen Isabella toward the end of the fifteenth century, the inhuman persecution and expulsion of the Spanish Jews and Arabs under the Inquisition, the crucial deed and personal drama of Christopher Colum-

bus. ("A world is my monument," muses the unfortunate discoverer. "Spanish chains are my reward.") But the familiar characters and situations assume an entirely new relevance and fascination as a truly creative writer depicts them with poignant wit and profound compassion.

There are heart-breaking scenes dramatizing the martyrdom of Isabella's victims—the Moors whom she was determined to exterminate, the Jews whose tormented outcry, "God, You see and are dumb?" resounds through the pages of the chronicle. In spite of all its moral indignation, however, the chronicle treats the blood-stained heroine with fairness and understanding. The Isabella it portrays is not just a monster of greed and fanaticism; she is a live woman, a human being—complex, contradictory, problematical. At times she is almost lovable; in other moments she has tragic grandeur. And again there are hours when she becomes puny and pitiful. There are hours of doubt. Looking at a "gouty old man," a "sublime, ridiculous old man" by the name of Christopher Columbus, the Queen of both the Spains wonders, shuddering: "Are all great men mad? Have I been mad, too? Is madness greatness? Is greatness madness? Poor, poor old man!"

A skeptic and moralist in the Voltairean tradition, Kesten seems to tell us that madness was ruling the world four hundred and fifty years ago as it is today. Which is not to say that we should acquiesce in madness. Kesten, for one, does not—as he has proved once more by writing the frightening and edifying, bitter and entertaining story of Queen Isabella and her beloved Ferdinand, nicknamed "King Petticoat."

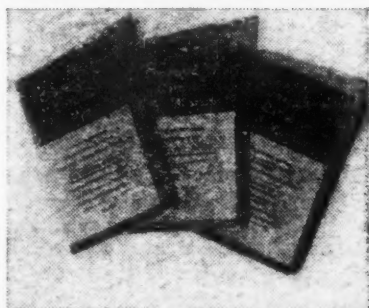
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Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE Bignou Gallery's announcement of Pierre Bonnard's first one-man show in this country (through January 31) may have struck some of us as presumptuous in its bland statement that Bonnard is the greatest living French painter. One's first impulse is to bring up Matisse, whom many—and I among them—consider perhaps the greatest living painter in the world. The fact is, however, that the Bignou announcement merely echoes an opinion that has spread wider and wider in France during the last fifteen or twenty years and that represents a kind of hostile criticism of Matisse, cubism, and cubism's aftermath—that is, of everything the School of Paris has done since Fauvism. This opinion rejects what it holds to be the shock and flash effects of Picasso and Matisse and prefers the "solidity" of French "tradition."

Bonnard is indeed solid painting. He is also late impressionism plus Toulouse-Lautrec, Gauguin—and Matisse. Originally one of the "Nabi" group founded in the 1890's under the inspiration of Gauguin's flat, decorative painting, Bonnard has devoted himself to gathering up the loose strings left around by the School of Paris's too rapid transition from impressionism to abstraction. Bonnard, for his part, has worked toward the abstract in a slower and, in a sense, more organic way than did the cubists. Before 1910 or so he painted in rather darkish tones, heedless of the fauves, but flattening his canvas more and more as he went along; by 1915 he seems to have felt Matisse's influence—he himself may have influenced Matisse previously—and his palette brightened up radically and his painting blossomed into big, boldly cut pictures that resemble screens or panels more than easel-paintings but are so hot in color to stay in place as mere decoration.

It is to this last phase that Bonnard owes his present renown among those who profess to know and like painting for painting's sheer sake—for the poetry of the immediate medium, of cuisine, paint texture, manual sensitivity. And it is precisely this concentration on his stuff, on juice and matter, that seems to have led Bonnard to paint more and more abstractly: the greater the attention pigment and brushstroke the less becomes the concern with the original data

of the subject in nature. Thus Bonnard's conceptions have become steadily more summary; he simplifies shapes into flat areas of unbroken color modulated by nothing more than the brushstroke, and arranges these areas into patchwork patterns in which all planes merge into one, with no single color or shape receding or advancing too far or too dramatically and the human figure becoming but one more object among others. Warm colors, crimsons, oranges, pinks, yellows, mauves, acid viridians, and emeralds in off shades, all these are crowded close to one another—sometimes at dangerously close intervals that threaten to turn the effect into mud. And yet it is one of the tensions and dramatic virtues of Bonnard's art that such bright, hot colors should come so close to mud.

Here, moreover, is a way of approaching abstract painting that makes a detour around cubism and yet arrives at almost the same place in the end. But Bonnard never abandons the object, and never will—nor does he violate it as Picasso has done, while still retaining it. He holds on to the third dimension more tenaciously. He may simplify nature but he does not reorganize it with respect to anything except color; and so the world he shows us disorients no one familiar with that of Monet or Renoir. This is the main reason why conservative connoisseurs have found Bonnard easier to take than Matisse, despite the fact that the latter has never gone so far toward the abstract. But Matisse is no longer an impressionist, and he imposes his temperament too radically and inflexibly. Besides, abstractness, taken by itself, has never been a measure of the radicalness of art; if it were, Magnasco would have been more of an innovator than Delacroix. The abstractness of the cubists and Matisse's flatness are the symptoms of a new vision of art, whereas Bonnard's is an extension of the same vision by which Monet painted his lily-pads.

But the intimacy and calmness of Bonnard's art, its concentration on gentle pleasures, and the fact that it smells permanently of the fashions of 1900-14, expressing as it does the desire of the French middle classes to make history stop and stand still at 1912, and leave them undisturbed in the enjoyment of the modest but refined amenities that the Third Republic had permitted them to accumulate—all this should not mislead us into thinking that he lacks ambition as a painter. Bonnard has not been content to have his art called

French and to let it rest at that. He can paint "French" easily enough and turn out any number of sure-fire successes; and from time to time he does, indeed, paint little landscapes and still lifes that Manet or the early Corot or even Courbet or Boudin would have been glad to call his own: pictures, precious enough in themselves, that depart from the standard traditional qualities of French painting only by their directness and by the fast, loose, modern execution which achieves their paradoxical delicacy. But these are in the nature of relaxations, and Bonnard also seeks to realize a more monumental art through his instinct for large-scale decoration. What he seems to want is a big flat picture with the massiveness and weight of Tintoretto or Veronese. Here he must gamble; there are no certain successes in this unexplored territory, and he makes many mistakes and paints many failures. But the audacity with which he cuts out his canvases and the no less audacious monotony with which he designs them are an effort to express something profound and entirely new and contemporary, and when success comes, the result is an important masterpiece and a further advance on the part of the total tradition of Western painting.

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Alas, the present exhibition at the Bignou contains little but a selection of Bonnard's failures—and they are not even important failures, except for "The Open Window" of 1924. The two best canvases hung, "Cannes, the Harbor" (1919) and "Still Life with Fruit" (1926), are in Bonnard's relaxed vein; as exquisite as it is, the seascape might have been painted by a latter-day Descamps, and the still life by Renoir himself. One can, provisionally, explain the weakness of this show only by the assumption that the artist's best work has remained in France.

Bonnard is not the only contemporary to show that impressionism still has something left to say, even in the presence of cubism and post-cubism. There is Victor Pasmore in England—and there was Arnold Friedman here in America. Friedman's death last week at the age of seventy-four closed the career of one of the best painters this country has ever produced—one who in a place where people were less illiterate in terms of painting for its own sake would have received far more recognition and understanding than he did. Only illiterates could ever have called a painter so completely in possession of his means as Friedman a "primitive." Forced to earn his living as a post-office clerk and to paint in his spare time until his retirement in 1933, Friedman took a long time to develop. But he did develop, and always in a determined direction, a direction that took him toward an abstract impressionism more radical than Bonnard's. In the last years of his life he painted a series of landscapes that for color and texture are without equal in

our time. But they lack shock effect, they are too solid and complete to be "brilliant," and therefore his art may have to wait a long time before it receives its just recognition in this country. But I have enough confidence to add his name right now to those of Eakins, Ryder, Homer, Blakelock, Cole, Bellows, Eilshemius, and Hartley.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

BALANCHINE, for me, stands out among choreographers—even among the best choreographers—in the way Picasso stands out among even the best painters: by the power in manipulation of his medium and the power of his mind and imagination that yield the prodigal abundance of his invention, its constant development and originality. In fact Balanchine is, for me, an artist of the same magnitude as Picasso, and the only one I can think of now working in any of the arts. He is, it seems to me, even more disciplined in his exercise of his powers than Picasso: the originality, no matter how astounding, always remains part of the continuous development; a work as singular as "Dances Concertantes" is only a special use of the permanent but developing elements of the idiom and style of other works.

The occasion for these observations is Balanchine's latest ballet, "The Four Temperaments." From the very first movements of the motionless pair of dancers revealed by the rising curtain it has the striking impact of the powers I have mentioned—the powers which begin at once their fascinating transformation of the familiar elements of the Balanchine idiom and style, and which overwhelm one in the end with the richness, the complexity, the originality, the power of the succession of dances they produce with those elements. It is a work that, in the words of Edwin Denby, "holds one spellbound by the constant surprise of its dance development, by the denseness and power of the dance images which the figures on stage create from moment to moment"; and this sustained power makes it grand and imposing.

Except for its conclusion Hindemith's score is excellent for Balanchine's purpose. But Kurt Seligman's costumes are extravagant and undisciplined in their boldness of color and design—some of them obscuring the body that should be clearly outlined. His decor is good.

As presented by the Ballet Society to its subscription audience (for which the work will be repeated on January 13) the work was danced with precision and brilliance by graduates and students of the School of American Ballet—the soloists being Mary Ellen Moylan, Beatrice Tompkins, Elise Reiman, Giselle Caccialanza, Tanaquil Le Clercq, Todd Bolender, William Dollar, Fred Daniels, José Martinez, Lew Christensen, and Francisco Moncion. And the dancers benefited by the excellent performance of the music under the direction of Leonard Barzin.

The students of the school also danced in a performance of Ravel's "L'Enfant et les sortilèges" that I thought was a waste of everyone's time and talent. I would rather have seen a repetition of the lovely ballet that Balanchine created to a Mozart Sinfonie Concertante for the students' performance with the National Orchestral Association a year ago.

I am grateful to Laszlo Halasz of the City Center's opera division for the opportunity to hear the beautiful and expressive music of Tchaikovsky's "Eugen Onegin," and for his decision to give the work in Russian—though I suppose some of my gratitude should go to the person who drilled the Americans in the cast in the Russian words. Only William Horne's American accent remained noticeable; and I was bothered less by that than by the unsuitable and unchanging middle-aged appearance of Ivan Petroff as Onegin, the sudden introduction of comic stylization in the impersonation of one of the seconds in the duel scene, and the redistribution of scenes among the acts. The faults of the production were in fact mostly dramatic, though the musical performance under Mr. Halasz's direction was quite good. And fortunately, if one could not believe in Mr. Petroff as Onegin one could certainly believe in Vera Bryner as Tatiana; she looked and acted the part convincingly in addition to singing it effectively though with a voice of no great sensuous beauty and a strong vibrato. Mr. Horne also sang well with a voice that was rather dry; but Margery Mayer's voice was fresh and lovely.

Mr. Halasz being a man of enterprise and energy, I call on him to produce Mussorgsky's—not Rimsky-Korsakov's—not Shostakovich's—"Boris Godunov" in Russian.

Szigeti's performance of Bach's Chaconne seemed to be very fine. It "seemed" because I had difficulty getting hold of it, so to speak, as the attenuated sound of the unaccompanied

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The Record of the Arab States

Dear Sirs: It is a pity that Alvarez del Vayo in his excursion into Arab politics in your issue of December 7 should not have acquainted himself better with the facts before drawing his conclusions. As examples of his lack of information in this field, the following errors may be pointed out:

1. When he says that the Arab League was "whole-heartedly on Hitler's side" until Germany began to lose the war, he seems not to know the Arab League was only formed in March, 1945, that is, less than two months before the defeat of Germany.

2. As "proof" of the above statement he says that Syria and Lebanon under the Vichy regime became the chief Middle Eastern base of the German command. He is apparently unaware that under Vichy neither the Syrians nor the Lebanese had independent representative governments and therefore shared no responsibility for what happened in their territory.

These are only minor examples of the author's inaccuracy. I have the feeling that he has swallowed whole the contemporary "liberal" myth about Arab politics, which is based not on a study of the facts but on Zionist propaganda. That propaganda attempts to prove (a) that the Arabs do not really object to Palestine being given to the Jews, and (b) that what appears to be Arab resistance to Zionism is only the artificial creation of the British. The impression is thereby given that Zionism is fighting a heroic battle against British imperialism, and the Arabs scarcely come into the picture at all.

This line of propaganda deliberately glosses over the fact that it is all along Zionism which has been the pampered child of British imperialism; that but for the armed might of Great Britain there would today be no Zionists in Palestine. If there is a temporary estrangement between the British government and the Zionist leaders, that is merely because these leaders are not satisfied with the pace at which their movement is being allowed to grow. In all this it is the Arabs who have been the victims and the attacked; they are therefore unable to understand the attitude of liberals like Mr. del Vayo who appear to think clearly and with a passion for freedom

and justice about other parts of the world but to lose these qualities when it comes to the Palestine question.

CECIL HOURANI,
Secretary, the Arab Office
Washington, December 17

[It is unnecessary to say that Mr. del Vayo did not depend for his facts on "Zionist propaganda"; that those facts were accurate, despite Mr. Hourani's remarks, can easily be shown. Mr. Hourani tells us that "the Arab League was only formed in March, 1945." As secretary of the Arab Office in Washington he should know his dates, but they do not coincide with those accepted by even higher authorities. The Arab League emerged from a series of conferences among Arab leaders called by Mustapha Nahas Pasha, head of the Wafd Party in Egypt, shortly after Mr. Eden, in January, 1943, had repeated an earlier suggestion that Britain would view with sympathy a movement to achieve unity among the Arab states. The conferences led to the conclusion of a protocol formally establishing the Arab League. The protocol was signed on October 7, 1944. Azam Pasha, secretary general of the Arab League, in an interview published a few weeks ago in the Egyptian daily *Al Kullā*, spoke of the beneficial effect of the league's activities "during the twenty-eight months of its existence." That would fix the founding of the League at about August, 1944, or two months before the protocol was signed—and eight months before the date given by Mr. Hourani.

But, dates aside, Mr. del Vayo's assertion that "until Germany began to lose the war it [the Arab League] was whole-heartedly on Hitler's side" referred in fact to the states now composing the Arab League; they were pro-Nazi long before they were formally united.

As for the question of the responsibility of Syria and Lebanon for German activities in the Levant, the facts are as Mr. del Vayo stated. Although the Levantine republics were under Vichy control, both their governments and the dominant political parties were flagrantly pro-Nazi. The "Military Handbook" published by the G. H. Q. of the British Army in the Middle East in June, 1941, gave a table of Syrian and Lebanese parties and characterized their political aims and affiliations. For almost

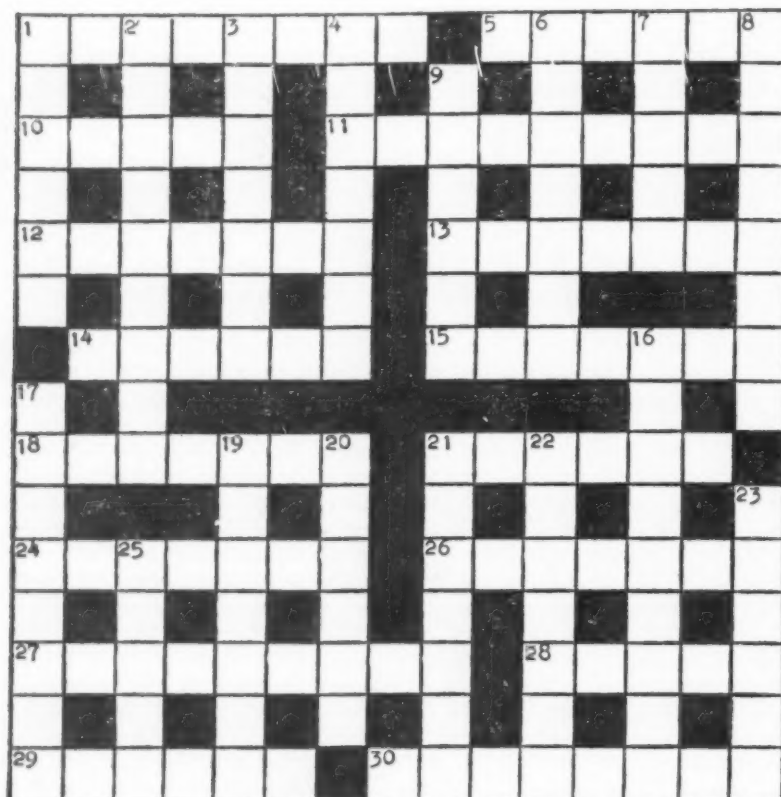
et Society to violin reached me in the vast space of for which Carnegie Hall (I think it a mistake for ry 13) the soloist to play there, and especially recision and for Szigeti, whose small tone loses its students e adiance in a large hall). But in addi- Ballet—the ion there was the difficulty that I had Moylan, Bea ust heard a performance of Mozart's D man, Gisel major Quintet by the Budapest Quartet Clercq, Tod and Katims that had had me all but Fred Daniel claiming over its exciting ensemble tensen, and miracles. Szigeti also played a Stra- the dancer vinsky Divertimento that was an aston- performance shingly effective arrangement of some tion of Leo of the fascinating music of "Le Baiser de la fée."

I also danced The list of HMV importations that I s "L'Enfant mentioned last week was one printed by ought was Victor. I have just seen a mimeographed and talent, list issued by the New York Band In- repetition of strument Company on which are the hine create great Cortot-Thibaud-Casals recordings certante fo of the Schubert and Beethoven trios. with the Na And also these outstanding recordings, n a year ago among others: the John McCormack *Il szlo Halas mio tesoro* from "Don Giovanni" and division fo *Una furtiva lagrima* from "Elisir d'A- he beautif more" (DB-324; \$2.50), the Elisabeth chaikovsky Schumann *Deh vieni, non tardar* from his decisio "Figaro" and *L'amor, sarò costante* n—though from "Il Re Pastore" (DB-1011; \$2.50), he should ge and the Roswänge *Gott! welch' Dunkel* the American hier from "Fidelio" (DB-4522; \$2.50). words. On Columbia has issued Milhaud's "Bal a accent re Martiniquais," performed by Robert and was bother Gaby Casadesus (71831-D; \$1). It is suitable an the only work of Milhaud that I have appearance of e sudden n enjoyed listening to; the performance is expert; and the sound of the pianos on e seconds should have but is otherwise good. On e distribution another single (7479-M; \$1) is the faults of the Ebony Concerto that Stravinsky com- tly dramat- posed for the Woody Herman Orchestra, der Mr. He in which bits of jazz melody and rhythm d. And fo re subjected—unsuitably and point- e believe ssly, I would say—to the Stravinsky utinatio treatment. It is put together, of e could ce course, with all the Stravinsky precision, art convinc and performed with equal precision by it effectively the Woody Herman Orchestra under eat sensuc Stravinsky's direction.

Mr. Horr Victor's remaining December releases ce that w offer two works, each of which in its layer's voi own way is not worth the performers' time and effort, Victor's machinery, ma- of enterpri rials, and labor, and listeners' atten- to produ tion: Brahms's "Liebeslieder" Waltzes -Korakov Opus 52, beautifully sung by Robert -Godunov Shaw's Victor Chorale with Luboshutz and Nemenoff (Set 1076; \$3.85), and Louis Gruenberg's Violin Concerto, Bach's Ch written for Heifetz, who plays it with fine. I s brillianc of tone and technique with difficulty the San Francisco Symphony under peak, as the accompani Monteux (Set 1079; \$4.85). The per- formances are excellently recorded.

Crossword Puzzle No. 194

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Pastry is not plentiful here
5 S A A
10 Place where you consign things you want to forget
11 Love may take away the sight, but this restores it!
12 To return on a ship of the desert to King Arthur's court
13 What you need to start in the writing business
14 Avaricious
15 Without them, can becomes can't, you might say
18 She has our sympathy
21 Bread not recommended for pies
24 Lvov
26 Chirped
27 Having rusty locks
28 This balance is not at the bank
29 "Capers" ----- in a lady's chamber To the lascivious pleasing of a lute"
30 Treat as an alien

DOWN

- 1 Choice
2 The old school (4 and 5)
3 Inflated
4 Grass much favored for feeding cattle
6 Tipples (anag.)

- 7 Here and there; now hither and then thither
8 Not necessarily what enabled the enemy agent to be far-sighted
9 They plaster it on some houses
16 Neither legal nor tender means of acquiring legal tender
17 Men can't bear them
19 The champagne bucket, perhaps (3-4)
20 Where the eggs are laid
21 Chirpy insects, these
22 He owes most of his illegal position to a moneylender
23 Become attached to
25 A woman of fashion

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 193

ACROSS:—1 BADMINTON; 6 CHERA; 9 ORGANON; 10 BETHUNE; 11 DRAGNET; 12 TYRANNY; 13 SOS; 15 DISUSE; 17 TRIXIE; 18 ARMOR; 19 PRIEST; 22 YAFFLE; 25 ANT; 27 TIFFANY; 28 UNSWEAR; 30 OARLAPS; 31 FIGHTER; 32 GLOVE; 33 ATTAINER.

DOWN:—1 BROOD; 2 DOG DAYS; 3 INNINGS; 4 TENETS; 5 NO HUTS; 6 CATERER; 7 EQUINOX; 8 ACETYLENE; 14 OSMAN; 15 DIPHTHONG; 16 EAT; 17 TRY; 20 INFERNOS; 21 SWANAGE; 23 ARSEGAI; 24 FRETTE; 25 AYESHA; 26 TUFFET; 29 RARER.

every party mentioned the comments run as follows: "German connections, pro-Nazi"; . . . "with strong Nazi-Fascist tendencies"; . . . "under the direction of von Heutig," etc. About the National bloc headed by Shukri Kuwatli, today President of the Syrian Republic, the "Handbook" remarks, "The party is pro-German." Apart from the records of parties, the period referred to by Mr. del Vayo is studded with the pro-Nazi acts of most of the prominent Arab leaders in the Levant; Mr. Hourani has apparently forgotten, for example, the close collaboration of most of these leaders with the German-Italian Armistice Commission in 1940-41, the speeches and direct help given to the Iraqi rebels by Riad al Sulh, now Prime Minister of Lebanon, by Hashim Atasi, ex-President of the Syrian Republic, by the late Emir Shekib Arslan, who headed the Mufti's espionage office in Geneva, and by many others whom lack of space prevents us from citing.

Mr. del Vayo's theme was not the battle of Zionism against British imperialism but rather the reactionary role played in the United Nations by the Arab states. It seems unnecessary, therefore, to comment on Mr. Hourani's last paragraph except to say that the record of the past seven years, since the White Paper was issued, would seem sufficient answer to his contention that Zionism "has been the pampered child of British imperialism."—EDITORS THE NATION

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